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By Daniel Defoe
2 vols end – [Lon. Kings] Useful Transactions 1709



Hicks.

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117 ——— **A Journal of the Plague Year,** being observations or memorials of the most remarkable occurrences as well publick as Private, which happened in London during the last Great Visitation in 1665.

Written by a Citizen who continued all the while in London. Never made publick before.

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4712. A Journal of the Plague Year: being Observations or Memorials, of the most remarkable Occurrences . . . which happened in London during the last great Visitation in 1665. Written by a Citizen who continued all the while in London . . . 8°. *Lond.*, 1722.

First ed. Signed at end 'H. F.' Running title: Memoirs of the Plague. Bk.-plate of 'Hicks'. Inserted: a review of 'Defoe, ed. by John Masefield', from Times Lit. Suppl., 11 Nov., 1909. The vol., in 18th-century binding, contains also King, no. 5021.

"One of his [Defoe's] most remarkable performances . . . It was suggested by the dread of the plague, which had recently broken out in France, and the narrative has an air of authenticity which imposed on Dr. Mead, who had been appointed to report upon desirable precautions. He quotes it as an authority in his 'Discourse on the Plague' (1744 [no. 3364, p. 106])." (D. N. B.) Defoe was six (?) years old at the time of the plague, and probably his parents remained in London. W. O.

5021. Useful Transactions in Philosophy, and other sorts of Learning, for the months of March and April, 1709. To be continu'd monthly, as they sell. 8°. *Lond.*, (1709).

Anonymous, illustrated parodies of the Royal Society's Transactions. Three numbers were published, of which this is No. II. In arts. ii and iv Leeuwenhoek's communications on the Tongue and on the Membranes of the Intestines are burlesqued.

Bd. with no. 4712.

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LONDON:

Printed for *E. Nutt* at the *Royal-Exchange*; *J. Roberts* in *Warwick-Lane*; *A. Dodd* without *Temple-Bar*; and *J. Graves* in St. *James's-street*. 1722.

from the Letters of Merchants, and others, who correſponded abroad, and from them was handed about by Word of Mouth only; ſo that things did not ſpread inſtantly over the whole Nation, as they do now. But it ſeems that the Government had a true Account of it, and ſeveral Counſels were held about Ways to prevent its coming over; but all was kept very private. Hence it was, that this Rumour died off again, and People began to forget it, as a thing we were very little concern'd in, and that we hoped was not true; till the latter End of *November*, or the Beginning of *December* 1664, when two Men, ſaid to be French-men, died of the Plague in *Long Acre*, or rather at the upper End of *Drury Lane*. The Family they were in, endeavour'd to conceal it as much as poſſible; but as it had gotten ſome Vent in the Diſcourſe of the Neighbourhood, the Secretaries of State gat Knowledge of it. And concerning themſelves to inquire about it, in order to be certain of the Truth, two Phyſicians and a Surgeon were order'd to go to the Houſe, and make Inſpection. This they did; and finding evident Tokens of the Sickneſs upon both the Bodies that were dead, they gave their Opinions publickly, that they died of the Plague: Whereupon it was given in to the Pariſh Clerk, and he alſo return'd them to the Hall; and it was printed in the weekly Bill of Mortality in the uſual manner, thus,

Plague 2. *Pariſhes infected* 1.

The People ſhew'd a great Concern at this, and began to be allarm'd all over the Town, and the more, becauſe in the laſt Week in *December* 1664, another Man died in the ſame

Houſe, and of the ſame Diſtemper: And then we were eaſy again for about ſix Weeks, when none having died with any Marks of Infection, it was ſaid, the Diſtemper was gone; but after that, I think it was about the 12th of *February*, another died in another Houſe, but in the ſame Pariſh, and in the ſame manner.

This turn'd the Peoples Eyes pretty much towards that End of the Town; and the weekly Bills ſhewing an Encreaſe of Burials in St. *Giles's* Pariſh more than uſual, it began to be ſuſpected, that the Plague was among the People at that End of the Town; and that many had died of it, tho' they had taken Care to keep it as much from the Knowlege of the Publick, as poſſible: This poſſeſs'd the Heads of the People very much, and few car'd to go thro' *Drury-Lane*, or the other Streets ſuſpected, unleſs they had extraordinary Buſineſs, that obliged them to it.

This Encreaſe of the Bills ſtood thus; the uſual Number of Burials in a Week, in the Pariſhes of St. *Giles's* in the Fields, and St. *Andrew's* Holborn were from 12 to 17 or 19 each few more or leſs; but from the Time that the Plague firſt began in St. *Giles's* Pariſh, it was obſerv'd, that the ordinary Burials encreaſed in Number conſiderably. *For Example*,

From *Dec.* 27th to *Jan.* 3. St. *Giles's* —16
St. *Andrew's*—17

Jan. 3. to — 10. St. *Giles's* —12
St. *Andrew's*—25

Jan. 10. to — 17. St. *Giles's* —18
St. *Andrew's*—18

From *Jan.* 17. to *Jan.* 24. St. *Giles's* —23
St. *Andrew's*—16

Jan. 24. to — 31. St. *Giles's* —24
St. *Andrew's*—15

Jan. 30. to *Feb.* 7. St. *Giles's* —21
St. *Andrew's*—23

Feb. 7. to — 14. St. *Giles's* —24
whereof one of the Plague.

The like Encreaſe of the Bills was obſerv'd in the Pariſhes of St. *Brides*, adjoining on one Side of *Holborn* Pariſh, and in the Pariſh of St. *James Clarkenwell*, adjoining on the other Side of *Holborn*; in both which Pariſhes the uſual Numbers that died weekly, were from 4 to 6 or 8, whereas at that time they were increas'd, as follows.

From *Dec.* 20. to *Dec.* 27. St. *Brides*— 0
St. *James*— 8

Dec. 27. to *Jan.* 3. St. *Brides*— 6
St. *James*— 9

Jan. 3. to — 10. St. *Brides*—11
St. *James*— 7

Jan. 10. to — 17. St. *Brides*—12
St. *James*— 9

Jan. 17. to — 24. St. *Brides*— 9
St. *James*—15

Jan. 24. to — 31. St. *Brides*— 8
St. *James*—12

From

From *Jan.* 31. to *Feb.* 7. St. *Brides*—13
St. *James*— 5

Feb. 7. to — 14. St. *Brides*—12
St. *James*— 6

Beſides this, it was obſerv'd with great Uneaſineſs by the People, that the weekly Bills in general encreas'd very much during theſe Weeks, altho' it was at a Time of the Year, when uſually the Bills are very moderate.

The uſual Number of Burials within the Bills of Mortality for a Week, was from about 240 or thereabouts, to 300. The laſt was eſteem'd a pretty high Bill; but after this we found the Bills ſucceſſively encreaſing, as follows.

			Increaſed
Dec.	the 20. to the 27th,	Buried 291.	—
	27. to the 3 *Jan.*	— 349.	— 58
January	3. to the 10.	— 394.	— 45
	10. to the 17.	— 415.	— 21
	17. to the 24.	— 474.	— 59

This laſt Bill was really frightful, being a higher Number than had been known to have been buried in one Week, ſince the preceeding Viſitation of 1656.

However, all this went off again, and the Weather proving cold, and the Froſt which began in *December*, ſtill continuing very ſevere, even till near the End of *February*, attended with ſharp tho' moderate Winds, the Bills decreas'd again, and the City grew healthy, and every body began to look upon the Danger as good as over; only that ſtill the Burials in St. *Giles*'s continu'd high: From the Beginning of *April* eſpecially they ſtood at 25 each Week, till the Week from the 18th to the 25th, when there was buried in St. *Giles*'s

Pariſh 30, whereof two of the Plague, and 8 of the Spotted-Feaver, which was look'd upon as the ſame thing; likewiſe the Number that died of the Spotted-Feaver in the whole increaſed, being 8 the Week before, and 12 the Week above-named.

This alarm'd us all again, and terrible Apprehenſions were among the People, eſpecially the Weather being now chang'd and growing warm, and the Summer being at Hand: However, the next Week there ſeem'd to be ſome Hopes again, the Bills were low, the Number of the Dead in all was but 388, there was none of the Plague, and but four of the Spotted-Feaver.

But the following Week it return'd again, and the Diſtemper was ſpread into two or three other Pariſhes (*viz.*) St. *Andrew's-Holborn*, St. *Clement's-Danes*, and to the great Affliction of the City, one died within the Walls, in the Pariſh of St. *Mary-Wool Church*, that is to ſay, in *Bearbinder-lane* near the *Stocks market*; in all there was nine of the Plague, and ſix of the Spotted-Feaver. It was however upon Inquiry found, that this *Frenchman* who died in *Bearbinder-lane*, was one who having liv'd in *Long-Acre*, near the infected Houſes, had removed for fear of the Diſtemper, not knowing that he was already infected.

This was the beginning of *May*, yet the Weather was temperate, variable and cool enough and People had ſtill ſome Hopes: That which encourag'd them was, that the City was healthy, the whole 97 Pariſhes buried but 54, and we began to hope, that as it was chiefly among the People at that End of the Town, it might go no farther; and the rather, becauſe the next Week which was from the 9th of *May* to the 16th there died but three, of which not one within the whole City

City or Liberties, and St. *Andrew*'s buried but 15, which was very low : 'Tis true, St. *Giles*'s buried two and thirty, but ſtill as there was but one of the Plague, People began to be eaſy, the whole Bill alſo was very low, for the Week before, the Bill was but 347, and the Week above-mentioned but 343 : We continued in theſe Hopes for a few Days, But it was but for a few ; for the People were no more to be deceived thus ; they ſearcht the Houſes, and found that the Plague was really ſpread every way, and that many died of it every Day : So that now all our Extenuations abated, and it was no more to be concealed, nay it quickly appeared that the Infection had ſpread it ſelf beyond all Hopes of Abatement ; that in the Pariſh of St. *Giles*'s, it was gotten into ſeveral Streets, and ſeveral Families lay all ſick together ; And accordingly in the Weekly Bill for the next Week, the thing began to ſhew it ſelf ; there was indeed but 14 ſet down of the Plague, but this was all Knavery and Colluſion, for in St. *Giles*'s Pariſh they buried 40 in all, whereof it was certain moſt of them died of the Plague, though they were ſet down of other Diſtempers ; and though the Number of all the Burials were not increaſed above 32, and the whole Bill being but 385, yet there was 14 of the Spotted-Feaver, as well as 14 of the Plague ; and we took it for granted upon the whole, that there was 50 died that Week of the Plague.

The next Bill was from the 23d of *May* to the 30th, when the Number of the Plague was 17 : But the Burials in St. *Giles*'s were 53, a frightful Number ! of whom they ſet down but 9 of the Plague : But on an Examination more ſtrictly by the Juſtices of the Peace, and at the Lord Mayor's Requeſt, it was found there were 20 more, who were really dead of the Plague in that Pariſh, but

had been set down of the Spotted-Feaver or other Distempers, besides others concealed.

1 But those were trifling Things to what followed immediately after; for now the Weather set in hot, and from the first Week in *June*, the Infection spread in a dreadful Manner, and the Bills rise high, the Articles of the Feaver, Spotted-Feaver, and Teeth, began to swell: For all that could conceal their Distempers, did it to prevent their Neighbours shunning and refusing to converse with them; and also to prevent Authority shutting up their Houses, which though it was not yet practised, yet was threatned, and People were extremely terrify'd at the Thoughts of it.

The Second Week in *June*, the Parish of St. *Giles's*, where still the Weight of the Infection lay, buried 120, whereof though the Bills said but 68 of the Plague; every Body said there had been 100 at least, calculating it from the usual Number of Funerals in that Parish as above.

Till this Week the City continued free, there having never any died except that one *Frenchman*, who I mention'd before, within the whole 97 Parishes. Now there died four within the City, one in *Wood-street*, one in *Fenchurch-street*, and two in *Crooked-lane*: *Southwark* was entirely free, having not one yet died on that Side of the Water.

I liv'd without *Aldgate* about mid-way between *Aldgate Church* and *White-Chappel-Bars*, on the left Hand or North-side of the Street; and as the Distemper had not reach'd to that Side of the City, our Neighbourhood continued very easy: But at the other End of the Town, their Consternation was very great; and the richer sort of People, especially the Nobility and Gentry, from the West-part of the City throng'd out of Town, with their Families and Servants in an unusual Manner; and this was more particularly seen in *White-Chapel*;

that is to say, the Broad-street where I liv'd: Indeed nothing was to be seen but Waggons and Carts, with Goods, Women, Servants, Children, *&c.* Coaches fill'd with People of the better Sort, and Horsemen attending them, and all hurrying away; then empty Waggons, and Carts appear'd and Spare-horses with Servants, who it was apparent were returning or sent from the Countries to fetch more People: Besides innumerable Numbers of Men on Horseback, some alone, others with Servants, and generally speaking, all loaded with Baggage and fitted out for travelling, as any one might perceive by their Appearance.

This was a very terrible and melancholy Thing to see, and as it was a Sight which I cou'd not but look on from Morning to Night; for indeed there was nothing else of Moment to be seen, it filled me with very serious Thoughts of the Misery that was coming upon the City, and the unhappy Condition of those that would be left in it.

This Hurry of the People was such for some Weeks, that there was no getting at the Lord-Mayor's Door without exceeding Difficulty; there was such pressing and crouding there to get passes and Certificates of Health, for such as travelled abroad; for without these, there was no being admitted to pass thro' the Towns upon the Road, or to lodge in any Inn: Now as there had none died in the City for all this time, My Lord Mayor gave Certificates of Health without any Difficulty to all those who liv'd in the 97 Parishes, and to those within the Liberties too for a while.

This Hurry, I say, continued some Weeks, that is to say, all the Month of *May* and *June*, and the more because it was rumour'd that an order of the Government was to be issued out, to place Turn pikes and Barriers on the Road, to prevent Peoples

Peoples travelling; and that the Towns on the Road, would not ſuffer People from *London* to paſs, for fear of bringing the Infection along with them, though neither of theſe Rumours had any Foundation, but in the Imagination; eſpecially at firſt.

I now began to conſider ſeriouſly with my Self, concerning my own Caſe, and how I ſhould diſpoſe of my ſelf; that is to ſay, whether I ſhould reſolve to ſtay in *London*, or ſhut up my Houſe and flee, as many of my Neighbours did. I have ſet this particular down ſo fully, becauſe I know not but it may be of Moment to thoſe who come after me, if they come to be brought to the ſame Diſtreſs, and to the ſame Manner of making their Choice and therefore I deſire this Account may paſs with them, rather for a Direction to themſelves to act by, than a Hiſtory of my actings, ſeeing it may not be of one Farthing value to them to note what became of me.

I had two important things before me; the one was the carrying on my Buſineſs and Shop; which was conſiderable, and in which was embark'd all my Effects in the World; and the other was the Preſervation of my Life in ſo diſmal a Calamity, as I ſaw apparently was coming upon the whole City; and which however great it was, my Fears perhaps as well as other Peoples, repreſented to be much greater than it could be

The firſt Conſideration was of great Moment to me; my Trade was *a Sadler*, and as my Dealings were chiefly not by a Shop or Chance Trade, but among the Merchants, trading to the *Engliſh* Colonies in *America*, ſo my Effects lay very much in the hands of ſuch. I was a ſingle Man 'tis true, but I had a Family of Servants, who I kept at my Buſineſs, had a Houſe, Shop, and Ware-houſes fill'd with Goods; and in ſhort, to leave them all as things in ſuch a Caſe muſt be left, that is to

ſay

ſay, without any Overſeer or Perſon fit to be truſted with them, had been to hazard the Loſs not only of my Trade, but of my Goods, and indeed of all I had in the World.

I had an Elder Brother at the ſame Time in *London*, and not many Years before come over from *Portugal*; and adviſing with him, his Anſwer was in three Words the ſame that was given in another Caſe quite different, (*viz.*) *Maſter ſave thy ſelf.* In a Word, he was for my retiring into the Country, as he reſolv'd to do himſelf with his Family; telling me, what he had it ſeems, heard abroad, that the beſt Preparation for the Plague was to run away from it. As to my Argument of loſing my Trade, my Goods, or Debts, he quite confuted me: He told me the ſame thing, which I argued for my ſtaying, (*viz.*) *That I would truſt God with my Safety and Health*, was the ſtrongeſt Repulſe to my Pretentions of loſing my Trade and my Goods; for, ſays he, is it not as reaſonable that you ſhould truſt God with the Chance or Riſque of loſing your Trade, as that you ſhould ſtay in ſo imminent a Point of Danger, and truſt him with your Life?

I could not argue that I was in any Strait, as to a Place where to go, having ſeveral Friends and Relations in *Northamptonſhire*, whence our Family firſt came from; and particularly, I had an only Siſter in *Lincolnſhire*, very willing to receive and entertain me.

My Brother, who had already ſent his Wife and two Children into *Bedfordſhire*, and reſolv'd to follow them, preſs'd my going very earneſtly; and I had once reſolv'd to comply with his Deſires, but at that time could get no Horſe: For tho' it is true, all the People did not go out of the City of *London*; yet I may venture to ſay, that in a manner all the Horſes did; for there was hardly

hardly a Horſe to be bought or hired in the whole City for ſome Weeks. Once I reſolv'd to travel on Foot with one Servant; and as many did, lie at no Inn, but carry a Soldiers Tent with us, and ſo lie in the Fields, the Weather being very warm, and no Danger from taking cold: I ſay, as many did, becauſe ſeveral did ſo at laſt, eſpecially thoſe who had been in the Armies in the War which had not been many Years paſt; and I muſt needs ſay, that ſpeaking of ſecond Cauſes, had moſt of the People that travelled, done ſo, the Plague had not been carried into ſo many Country-Towns and Houſes, as it was, to the great Damage, and indeed to the Ruin of abundance of People.

But then my Servant who I had intended to take down with me, deceiv'd me; and being frighted at the Encreaſe of the Diſtemper, and not knowing when I ſhould go, he took other Meaſures, and left me, ſo I was put off for that Time; and one way or other, I always found that to appoint to go away was always croſs'd by ſome Accident or other, ſo as to diſappoint and put it off again; and this brings in a Story which otherwiſe might be thought a needleſs Digreſſion, (*viz.*) about theſe Diſappointments being from Heaven.

I mention this Story alſo as the beſt Method I can adviſe any Perſon to take in ſuch a Caſe, eſpecially, if he be one that makes Conſcience of his Duty, and would be directed what to do in it, namely, that he ſhould keep his Eye upon the particular Providences which occur at that Time, and look upon them complexly, as they regard one another, and as altogether regard the Queſtion before him, and then I think, he may ſafely take them for Intimations from Heaven of what is his unqueſtion'd Duty to do in ſuch a Caſe;

I mean as to going away from, or ſtaying in the Place where we dwell, when viſited with an infectious Diſtemper.

It came very warmly into my Mind, one Morning, as I was muſing on this particular thing, that as nothing attended us without the Direction or Permiſſion of Divine Power, ſo theſe Diſappointments muſt have ſomething in them extraordinary; and I ought to conſider whether it did not evidently point out, or intimate to me, that it was the Will of Heaven I ſhould not go. It immediately follow'd in my Thoughts, that if it really was from God, that I ſhould ſtay, he was able effectually to preſerve me in the midſt of all the Death and Danger that would ſurround me; and that if I attempted to ſecure my ſelf by fleeing from my Habitation, and acted contrary to theſe Intimations, which I believed to be Divine, it was a kind of flying from God, and that he could cauſe his Juſtice to overtake me when and where he thought fit.

Theſe thoughts quite turn'd my Reſolutions again, and when I came to diſcourſe with my Brother again I told him, that I enclin'd to ſtay and take my Lot in that Station in which God had plac'd me; and that it ſeem'd to be made more eſpecially my Duty, on the Account of what I have ſaid.

My Brother, tho' a very Religious Man himſelf, laught at all I had ſuggeſted about its being an Intimation from Heaven, and told me ſeveral Stories of ſuch fool-hardy People, *as he call'd them*, as I was; that I ought indeed to ſubmit to it as a Work of Heaven, if I had been any way diſabled by Diſtempers or Diſeaſes, and that then not being able to go, I ought to acquieſce in the Direction of him, who having been my Maker, had an undiſputed Right of Soveraignity in diſpoſing

of

of me; and that then there had been no Difficulty to determine which was the Call of his Providence, and which was not: But that I ſhould take it as an Intimation from Heaven, that I ſhould not go out of Town, only becauſe I could not hire a Horſe to go, or my Fellow was run away that was to attend me, was ridiculous, ſince at the ſame Time I had my Health and Limbs, and other Servants, and might, with Eaſe, travel a Day or two on foot, and having a good Certificate of being in perfect Health, might either hire a Horſe, or take Poſt on the Road, as I thought fit.

Then he proceeded to tell me of the miſchievous Conſequences which attended the Preſumption of the *Turks* and *Mahometans* in *Aſia* and in other Places, where he had been (for my Brother being a Merchant, was a few Years before, as I have already obſerv'd, returned from abroad, coming laſt from *Lisbon*) and how preſuming upon their profeſs'd predeſtinating Notions, and of every Man's End being predetermin'd and unalterably before-hand decreed, they would go unconcern'd into infected Places, and converſe with infected Perſons, by which Means they died at the Rate of Ten or Fifteen Thouſand a-Week, whereas the *Europeans*, or Chriſtian Merchants, who kept themſelves retired and reſerv'd, generally eſcap'd the Contagion.

Upon theſe Arguments my Brother chang'd my Reſolutions again, and I began to reſolve to go, and accordingly made all things ready; for in ſhort, the Infection increaſed round me, and the Bills were riſen to almoſt 700 a-Week, and my Brother told me, he would venture to ſtay no longer. I deſir'd him to let me conſider of it but till the next Day, and I would reſolve; and as I had already prepar'd every thing as well as I could, as to my Buſineſs, and who to entruſt

truſt my Affairs with, I had little to do but to reſolve.

I went Home that Evening greatly oppreſs'd in my Mind, irreſolute, and not knowing what to do; I had ſet the Evening wholly apart to conſider ſeriouſly about it, and was all alone; for already People had, as it were by a general Conſent, taken up the Cuſtom of not going out of Doors after Sun-ſet, the Reaſons I ſhall have Occaſion to ſay more of by-and-by.

In the Retirement of this Evening I endeavoured to reſolve firſt, what was my Duty to do, and I ſtated the Arguments with which my Brother had preſs'd me to go into the Country, and I ſet againſt them the ſtrong Impreſſions which I had on my Mind for ſtaying; the viſible Call I ſeem'd to have from the particular Circumſtance of my Calling, and the Care due from me for the Preſervation of my Effects, which were, as I might ſay, my Eſtate; alſo the Intimations which I thought I had from Heaven, that to me ſignify'd a kind of Direction to venture, and it occurr'd to me, that if I had what I might call a Direction to ſtay, I ought to ſuppoſe it contain'd a Promiſe of being preſerved, if I obey'd.

This lay cloſe to me, and my Mind ſeemed more and more encouraged to ſtay than ever, and ſupported with a ſecret Satisfaction, that I ſhould be kept: Add to this that turning over the Bible, which lay before me, and while my Thoughts were more than ordinarily ſerious upon the Queſtion, I cry'd out, WELL, *I know not what to do, Lord direct me!* and the like; and that Juncture I happen'd to ſtop turning over the Book at the *91ſt Pſalm*, and caſting my Eye on the ſecond Verſe, I read on to the 7th Verſe excluſive; and after that, included the 10th, as follows. *I will ſay of the Lord, He is my refuge, and my foretreſs, my*

my God, in him will I trust. Surely he shall deliver thee from the snare of the fowler, and from the noisom pestilence. He shall cover the with his feathers, and under his wings shalt thou trust: his truth shall be thy shield and buckler. Thou shalt not be afraid for the terror by night, nor for the arrow that flieth by day: Nor for the pestilence that walketh in darkness: nor for the destruction that wasteth at noon-day. A thousand shall fall at thy side, and ten thousand at thy right hand: but it shall not come nigh thee. Only with thine Eyes shalt thou behold and see the reward of the wicked. Because thou hast made the Lord which is my refuge, even the most High, thy habitation: There shall no evil befal thee, neither shall any plague come nigh thy dwelling, &c.

I scarce need tell the Reader, that from that Moment I resolv'd that I would stay in the Town, and casting my self entirely upon the Goodness and Protection of the Almighty, would not seek any other Shelter whatever; and that as my Times were in his Hands, he was as able to keep me in a Time of the Infection as in a Time of Health; and if he did not think fit to deliver me, still I was in his Hands, and it was meet he should do with me as should seem good to him.

With this Resolution I went to Bed; and I was farther confirm'd in it the next Day, by the Woman being taken ill with whom I had intended to entrust my House and all my Affairs: But I had a farther Obligation laid on me on the same Side; for the next Day I found my self very much out of Order also; so that if I would have gone away, I could not, and I continued ill three or four Days, and this intirely determin'd my Stay; so I took my leave of my Brother, who went away to *Darking* in *Surry*, and afterwards fetch'd a Round farther into *Buckinghamshire*, or *Bedfordshire*, to a Retreat he had found out there for his Family.

It

It was a very ill Time to be ſick in, for if any one complain'd, it was immediately ſaid he had the Plague; and tho' I had indeed no Symptoms of that Diſtemper, yet being very ill, both in my Head and in my Stomach, I was not without Apprehenſion, that I really was infected; but in about three Days I grew better, the third Night I reſted well, ſweated a little, and was much refreſh'd; the Apprehenſions of its being the Infection went alſo quite away with my Illneſs, and I went about my Buſineſs as uſual.

Theſe Things however put off all my Thoughts of going into the Country; and my Brother alſo being gone, I had no more Debate either with him, or with my ſelf, on that Subject.

It was now mid-*July*, and the Plague which had chiefly rag'd at the other End of the Town, and as I ſaid before, in the Pariſhes of St. *Giles's*, St. *Andrews Holbourn*, and towards *Weſtminſter*, began now to come *Eaſtward* towards the Part where I liv'd. It was to be obſerv'd indeed, that it did not come ſtrait on towards us; for the City, that is to ſay within the Walls, was indifferent healthy ſtill; nor was it got then very much over the Water into *Southwark*; for tho' there died that Week 1268 of all Diſtempers, whereof it might be ſuppos'd above 900 died of the Plague; yet there was but 28 in the whole City, within the Walls; and but 19 in *Southwark*, *Lambeth* Pariſh included; whereas in the Pariſhes of St. *Giles*, and St. *Martins in the Fields* alone, there died 421.

But we perceiv'd the Infection keept chiefly in the out-Pariſhes, which being very populous, and fuller alſo of Poor, the Diſtemper found more to prey upon than in the City, as I ſhall obſerve afterward; we perceiv'd I ſay, the Diſtemper to draw our Way; (*viz.*) by the Pariſhes of *Clerken-Well*,

Cripplegate, *Shoreditch*, and *Bishopsgate*; which last two Parishes joining to *Aldgate*, *White-Chapel*, and *Stepney*, the Infection came at length to spread its utmost Rage and violence in those Parts, even when it abated, at the *Western* Parishes where it began.

It was very strange to observe, that in this particular Week, from the 4th to the 11th of *July*, when, as I have observ'd, there died near 400 of the Plague in the two Parishes of St. *Martin's*, and St. *Giles in the Fields* only, three died in the Parish of *Aldgate* but four, in the Parish of *White-Chapel* three ,in the Parish of *Stepney* but one.

Likewise in the next Week, from the 11th of *July* to the 18th, when the Week's Bill was 1761, yet there died no more of the Plague, on the whole *Southwark* Side of the Water than sixteen.

But this Face of things soon changed, and it began to thicken in *Cripplegate* Parish especially, and in *Clerken-Well*; so, that by the second Week in *August*, *Cripplegate* Parish alone, buried eight hundred eighty six, and *Clerken-Well* 155; of the first eight hundred and fifty, might well be reckoned to die of the Plague; and of the last, the Bill it self said, 145 were of the Plague.

During the Month of *July*, and while, as I have observ'd, our Part of the Town seem'd to be orspar'd, in Comparison of the *West* part, I went ordinarily about the Streets, as my Business requir'd, and particularly went generally, once in a Day, or in two Days, into the City, to my Brother's House, which he had given me charge of, and to see if it was safe: And having the Key in my Pocket, I used to go into the House, and over most of the Rooms, to see that all was well; for tho' it be something wonderful to tell, that any should have Hearts so hardned, in the midst of such

such a Calamity, as to rob and steal; yet certain it is, that all Sorts of Villanies, and even Levities and Debaucheries were then practis'd in the Town, as openly as ever, I will not say quite as frequently, because the Numbers of People were many ways lessen'd.

But the City it self began now to be visited too, I mean within the Walls; but the Number of People there were indeed extreamly lessen'd by so great a Multitude having been gone into the Country; and even all this Month of *July* they continu'd to flee, tho' not in such Multitudes as formerly. In *August* indeed, they fled in such a manner, that I began to think, there would be really none but Magistrates and Servants left in the City.

As they fled now out of the City, so I should observe, that the Court removed early, (*viz.*) in the Month of *June*, and went to *Oxford*, where it pleas'd God to preserve them; and the Distemper did not, *as I heacd of*, so much as touch them; for which I cannot say, that I ever saw they shew'd any great Token of Thankfulness, and hardly any thing of Reformation, tho' they did not want being told that their crying Vices might, without Breach of Charity, be said to have gone far, in bringing that terrible Judgment upon the whole Nation.

The Face of *London* was now indeed strangely alter'd, I mean the whole Mass of Buildings, City, Liberties, Suburbs, *Westminster*, *Southwark* and altogether; for as to the particular Part called the City, or within the Walls, that was not yet much infected; but in the whole, the Face of Things, I say, was much alter'd; Sorrow and Sadness sat upon every Face; and tho' some Part were not yet overwhelm'd, yet all look'd deeply concern'd; and as we saw it apparently coming on,

ſo every one look'd on himſelf, and his Family, as in the utmoſt Danger: were it poſſible to repreſent thoſe Times exactly to thoſe that did not ſee them, and give the Reader due Ideas of the Horror that every where preſented it ſelf, it muſt make juſt Impreſſions upon their Minds, and fill them with Surprize. *London* might well be ſaid to be all in Tears; the Mourners did not go about the Streets indeed, for no Body put on black, or made a formal Dreſs of Mourning for their neareſt Friends; but the Voice of Mourning was truly heard in the Streets; the ſhrieks of Women and Children at the Windows, and Doors of their Houſes, where their deareſt Relations were, perhaps dying, or juſt dead, were ſo frequent to be heard, as we paſſed the Streets, that it was enough to pierce the ſtouteſt Heart in the World, to hear them. Tears and Lamentations were ſeen almoſt in every Houſe, eſpecially in the firſt Part of the Viſitation; for towards the latter End, Mens Hearts were hardned, and Death was ſo always before their Eyes, that they did not ſo much concern themſelves for the Loſs of their Friends, expecting, that themſelves ſhould be ſummoned the next Hour.

Buſineſs led me out ſometimes to the other End of the Town, even when the Sickneſs was chiefly there; and as the thing was new to me, as well as to every Body elſe, it was a moſt ſurpriſing thing, to ſee thoſe Streets, which were uſually ſo thronged, now grown deſolate, and ſo few People to be ſeen in them, that if I had been a Stranger, and at a Loſs for my Way, I might ſometimes have gone the Length of a whole Street, I mean of the by-Streets, and ſee no Body to direct me, except Watchmen, ſet at the Doors of ſuch Houſes as were ſhut up; of which I ſhall ſpeak preſently.

One

One Day, being at that Part of the Town, on ſome ſpecial Buſineſs, Curioſity led me to obſerve things more than uſually ; and indeed I walk'd a great Way where I had no Buſineſs ; I went up *Holbourn*, and there the Street was full of People ; but they walk'd in the middle of the great Street, neither on one Side or other, becauſe, as I ſuppoſe, they would not mingle with any Body that came out of Houſes, or meet with Smells and Scents from Houſes that might be infected.

The Inns-of-Court were all ſhut up; nor were very many of the Lawyers in the Temple, or *Lincolns-Inn*, or *Greyes-Inn*, to be ſeen there. Every Body was at peace, there was no Occaſion for Lawyers; beſides, it being in the Time of the Vacation too, they were generally gone into the Country. Whole Rows of Houſes in ſome Places, were ſhut cloſe up; the Inhabitants all fled, and only a Watchman or two left.

When I ſpeak of Rows of Houſes being ſhut up, I do non mean ſhut up by the Magiſtrates ; but that great Numbers of Perſons followed the Court, by the Neceſſity of their Employments, and other Dependencies : and as others retir'd, really frighted with the Diſtemper, it was a mere deſolating of ſome of the Streets : But the Fright was not yet near ſo great in the City, abſtractly ſo called ; and particularly becauſe, tho' they were at firſt in a moſt inexpreſſible Conſternation, yet as I have obſerv'd, that the Diſtemper intermitted often at firſt; ſo they were as it were, allarm'd, and unallarm'd again, and this ſeveral times, till it began to be familiar to them ; and that even, when it appear'd violent, yet ſeeing it did not preſently ſpread into the City, or the *Eaſt* and *South* Parts, the People began to take Courage, and to be, as I may ſay, a little hardned ; It is true, a vaſt many People fled, as I have ob-

ſerv'd, yet they were chiefly from the *Weſt* End of the Town; and from that we call the Heart of the City, that is to ſay, among the wealthieſt of the People; and ſuch People as were unincumbred with Trades and Buſineſs: But of the reſt, the Generality ſtay'd, and ſeem'd to abide the worſt: So that in the Place we call the Liberties, and in the Suburbs, in *Southwark*, and in the *Eaſt* Part, ſuch as *Wapping*, *Ratclif*, *Stepney*, *Rotherhith*, and the like, the People generally ſtay'd, except here and there a few wealthy Families, who, as above, did not depend upon their Buſineſs.

It muſt not be forgot here, that the City and Suburbs were prodigiouſly full of People, at the time of this Viſitation, I mean, at the time that it began; for tho' I have liv'd to ſee a farther Encreaſe, and mighty Throngs of People ſettling in *London*, more than ever, yet we had always a Notion, that the Numbers of People, which the Wars being over, the Armies disbanded, and the Royal Family and the Monarchy being reſtor'd, had flock'd to *London*, to ſettle into Buſineſs; or to depend upon, and attend the Court for Rewards of Services, Preferments, *and the like*, was ſuch, that the Town was computed to have in it above a hundred thouſand people more thau ever it held before; nay, ſome took upon them to ſay, it had twice as many, becauſe all the ruin'd Families of the royal Party, flock'd hither: All the old Soldiers ſet up Trades here, and abundance of Families ſettled here; again, the Court brought with them a great Flux of Pride, and new Faſhions; All People were grown gay and luxurious; and the Joy of the Reſtoration had brought a vaſt many Families to *London*.

I often thought, that as *Jeruſalem* was beſieg'd by the *Romans*, when the *Jews* were aſſembled together, to celebrate the Paſſover, by which means,

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an incredible Number of People were ſurpriz'd there, who would otherwiſe have been in other Countries: So the Plague entred *London*, when an incredible Increaſe of People had happened occaſionally, by the particular Circumſtances abovenam'd: As this Conflux of the People, to a youthful and gay Court, made a great Trade in the City, eſpecially in every thing that belong'd to Faſhion and Finery; So it drew by Conſequence, a great Number of Work-men, Manufacturers, and the like, being moſtly poor People, who depended upon their Labour, And I remember in partieular, that in a Repreſentation to my Lord Mayor, of the Condition of the Poor, it was eſtimated, that, there were no leſs than an Hundred Thouſand Ribband Weavers in and about the City; the chiefeſt Number of whom, lived then in the Pariſhes of *Shoreditch*, *Stepney*, *White-chapel*, and *Biſhopſgate*; that namely, about *Spittle-fields*; that is to ſay, as *Spittle-fields* was then; for it was not ſo large as now, by one fifth Part.

By this however, the Number of People in the whole may be judg'd of; and indeed, I often wondred, that after the prodigious Numbers of People that went away at firſt, there was yet ſo great a Multitude left, as it appear'd there was.

But I muſt go back again to the Beginning of this Surprizing Time, while the Fears of the People were young, they were encreas'd ſtrangely by ſeveral odd Accidents, which put altogether, it was realy a wonder the whole Body of the People did not riſe as one Man, and abandon their Dwellings, leaving the Place as a Space of Ground deſigned by Heaven for an Akeldama, doom'd to be deſtroy'd from the Face of the Earth; and that all that would be found in it, would periſh with it. I ſhall Name but a few of theſe Things; but ſure they were ſo many, and

ſo many Wizards and cunning People propagating them, that I have often wonder'd there was any, (Women eſpecially,) left behind.

In the firſt Place, a blazing Star or Comet appear'd for ſeveral Months before the Plague, as there did the Year after another, a little before the Fire; the old Women, and the Phlegmatic Hypocondriac Part of the other Sex, who I could almoſt call *old Women* too, remark'd (eſpecially afterward tho' not, till both thoſe Judgments were over,) that thoſe two Comets paſs'd directly over the City, and that ſo very near the Houſes, that it was plain, they imported ſomething peculiar to the City alone; that the Comet before the Peſtilence, was of a faint, dull, languid Colour, and its Motion very heavy, ſolemn and ſlow: But that the Comet before the Fire, was bright and ſparkling, or as others ſaid, flaming, and its Motion ſwift and furious; and that accordingly, One foretold a heavy Judgment, ſlow but ſevere, terrible and frightful, as was the Plague; But the other foretold a Stroak, ſudden, ſwift, and fiery as the Conflagration; nay, ſo particular ſome People were, that as they look'd upon that Comet preceding the Fire, they fancied that they not only ſaw it paſs ſwiftly and fiercely, and cou'd perceive the Motion with their Eye, but even they heard it; that it made a ruſhing mighty Noiſe, fierce and terrible, tho' at a diſtance, and but juſt perceivable.

I ſaw both theſe Stars; and I muſt confeſs, had ſo much of the common Notion of ſuch Things in my Head, that I was apt to look upon them, as the Forerunners and Warnings of Gods Judgments; and eſpecially when after the Plague had followed the firſt, I yet ſaw another of the like kind; I could not but ſay, God had not yet ſufficiently ſcourg'd the City.

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But I cou'd not at the ſame Time carry theſe Things to the heighth that others did, knowing too, that natural Cauſes are aſſign'd by the Aſtronomers for ſuch Things; and that their Motions, and even their Revolutions are calculated, or preded to be calculated; ſo that they cannot be ſo perfectly call'd the Fore-runners, or Fore-tellers, much leſs the procurers of ſuch Events, as Peſtilence, War, Fire, and the like.

But let my Thoughts, and the Thoughts of the Philoſophers be, or have been what they will, theſe Things had a more then ordinary Influence upon the Minds of the common People, and they had almoſt univerſal melancholly Apprehenſions of ſome dreadful Calamity and Judgment coming upon the City; and this principally from the Sight of this Comet, and the little Allarm that was given in *December*, by two People dying at St. *Giles*'s, as above.

The Apprehenſions of the People, were likewiſe ſtrangely encreas'd by the Error of the Times; in which, I think, the People, from what Principle I cannot imagine, were more adicted to Propheſies, and Aſtrological Conjurations, Dreams, and old Wives Tales, than ever they were before or ſince: Whether this unhappy Temper was originally raiſed by the Follies of ſome People who got Money by it; that is to ſay, by printing Predictions, and Prognoſtications I know not; but certain it is, Book's frighted them terribly; ſuch as *Lilly*'s Almanack, *Gadbury*'s Alogical Predictions; Poor *Robin*'s Almanack and the like; alſo ſeveral pretended religious Books; one entituled, *Come out of her my People, leaſt you be partaker of her Plagues*; another call'd, Fair Warning; another, *Britains* Remembrancer, and many ſuch; all, or moſt Part of which, foretold directly or covertly the Ruin of the City: Nay, ſome

were

were so Enthusiastically bold, as to run about the Streets, with their Oral Predictions, pretending they were sent to preach to the City; and One in particular, who, like *Jonah* to *Nenevah*, cry'd in the Streets, *yet forty Days, and* LONDON *shall be destroy'd.* I will not be positive, whether he said yet forty Days, or yet a few Days. Another run about Naked, except a pair of Drawers about his Waste, crying Day and Night; like a Man that *Josephus* mentions, who cry'd, woe to *Jerusalem!* a little before the Destruction of that City: So this poor naked Creature cry'd, *O! the Great, and the Dreadful God!* and said no more, but repeated those Words continually, with a Voice and Countenance full of horror, a swift Pace, and no Body cou'd ever find him to stop, or rest, or take any Sustenance, at least, that ever I cou'd hear of. I met this poor Creature several Times in the Streets, and would have spoke to him, but he would not enter into Speech with me, or any one else; but held on his dismal Cries continually.

These Things terrified the People to the last Degree; and especially when two or three Times, as I have mentioned already, they found one or two in the Bills, dead of the Plague at St. *Giles.*

Next to these publick Things, were the Dreams of old Women: Or, I should say, the Interpretation of old Women upon other Peoples Dreams; and these put abundance of People even out of their Wits: Some heard Voices warning them to be gone, for that there would be such a Plague in *London*, so that the Living would not be able to bury the Dead: Others saw Apparitions in the Air; and I must be allow'd to say of both, I hope with out breach of Charity, that they heard Voices that never spake, and saw Sights that never appear'd; but the Imagination of the People

was

was really turn'd wayward and poſſeſs'd: And no Wonder, if they, who were poreing continually at the Clouds, ſaw Shapes and Figures, Repreſentations and Appearances, which had nothing in them, but Air and Vapour. Here they told us, they ſaw a Flaming-Sword held in a Hand, coming out of a Cloud, with a Point hanging directly over the City. There they ſaw Herſes, and Coffins in the Air, carrying to be buried. And there again, Heaps of dead Bodies lying unburied, and the like; juſt as the Imagination of the poor terrify'd People furniſh'd them with Matter to work upon.

So Hypocondriac Fancy's repreſent
Ships, Armies, Battles, in the Firmament;
Till ſteady Eyes, the Exhalations ſolve,
And all to its firſt Matter, Cloud, reſolve.

I could fill this Account with the ſtrange Relations, ſuch People gave every Day, of what they had ſeen; and every one was ſo poſitive of their having ſeen, what they pretended to ſee, that there was no contradicting them, without Breach of Friendſhip, or being accounted rude and unmannerly on the one Hand, and prophane and impenetrable on the other. One time before the Plague was begun, (otherwiſe than as I have ſaid in St. *Giles's*,) I think it was in *March*, ſeeing a Crowd of People in the Street, I join'd with them to ſatisfy my Curioſity, and found them all ſtaring up into the Air, to ſee what a Woman told them appeared plain to her, which was an Angel cloth'd in white, with a fiery Sword in his Hand, waving it, or brandiſhing it over his Head. She deſcribed every Part of the Figure to the Life; ſhew'd them the Motion, and the Form; and the poor People came into it ſo eagerly, and with ſo much

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Readineſs; YES, *I ſee it all plainly*, ſays one; *There's the Sword as plain as can be.* Another ſaw the Angel. One ſaw his very Face, and cry'd out, What a glorious Creature he was! One ſaw one thing, and one another. I look'd as earneſtly as the reſt, but, perhaps, not with ſo much Willingneſs to be impos'd upon; and I ſaid indeed, that *I could ſee nothing*, but a white Cloud, bright on one Side, by the ſhining of the Sun upon the other Part. The Woman endeavour'd to ſhew it me, but could not make me confeſs, that I ſaw it, which, indeed, if I had, I muſt have lied: But the Woman turning upon me, look'd in my Face, and fancied I laugh'd; in which her Imagination deceiv'd her too; for I really did not laugh, but was very ſeriouſly reflecting how the poor People were terrify'd, by the Force of their own Imagination. However, ſhe turned from me, call'd me prophane Fellow, and a Scoffer; told me, that it was a time of God's Anger, and dreadful Judgments were approaching; and that Deſpiſers, ſuch as I, ſhould *wonder and periſh.*

The People about her ſeem'd diſguſted as well as ſhe; and I found there was no perſwading them, that I did not laugh at them; and that I ſhould be rather mobb'd by them, than be able to undeceive them. So I left them; and this Appearance paſs'd for as real, as the Blazing Star it ſelf.

Another Encounter I had in the open Day alſo: And this was in going thro' a narrow Paſſage from *Petty-France* into *Biſhopſgate* Church Yard, by a Row of Alms-Houſes; there are two Church Yards to *Biſhopſgate* Church, or Pariſh; one we go over to paſs from the Place call'd *Petty-France* into *Biſhopſgate* Street, coming out juſt by the Church Door, the other is on the ſide of the narrow Paſſage, where the Alms-Houſes are on the left; and a

Dwarf-

Dwarf-wall with a Paliſadoe on it, on the right Hand; and the City Wall on the other Side, more to the right.

In this narrow Paſſage ſtands a Man looking thro' between the Paliſadoe's into the Burying Place; and as many People as the Narrowneſs of the Paſſage would admit to ſtop, without hindring the Paſſage of others; and he was talking mighty eagerly to them, and pointing now to one Place, then to another, and affirming, that he ſaw a Ghoſt walking upon ſuch a Grave Stone there; he deſcrib'd the Shape, the Poſture, and the Movement of it ſo exactly, that it was the greateſt Matter of Amazement to him in the World, that every Body did not ſee it as well as he. On a ſudden he would cry, *There it is: Now it comes this Way:* Then, *'Tis turn'd back*; till at length he perſuaded the People into ſo firm a Belief of it, that one fancied he ſaw it, and another fancied he ſaw it; and thus he came every Day making a ſtrange Hubbub, conſidering it was in ſo narrow a Paſſage, till *Biſhopſgate* Clock ſtruck eleven; and then the Ghoſt would ſeem to ſtart; and as if he were call'd away, diſappear'd on a ſudden.

I look'd earneſtly every way, and at the very Moment, that this Man directed, but could not ſee the leaſt Appearance of any thing; but ſo poſitive was this poor man, that he gave the People the Vapours in abundance, and ſent them away trembling, and frighted; till at length, few People, that knew of it, car'd to go thro' that Paſſage; and hardly any Body by Night, on any Account whatever.

This Ghoſt, as the poor Man affirm'd, made Signs to the Houſes, and to the Ground, and to the People, plainly intimating, or elſe they ſo underſtanding it, that Abundance of the People, ſhould come to be buried in that Church-Yard;

as

as indeed happen'd: But thar he saw such Aspects, I must acknowledg, I never believ'd; nor could I see any thing of it my self, tho' I look'd most earnestly to see it, if possible.

These things serve to shew, how far the People were really overcome with Delusions; and as they had a Notion of the Approach of a Visitation, all their Predictions run upon a most dreadful Plague, which should lay the whole City, and even the Kingdom waste; and should destroy almost all the Nation, both Man and Beast.

To this, as I said before, the Astrologers added Stories of the Conjunctions of Planets in a malignant Manner, and with a mischievous Influence; one of which Conjunctions was to happen, and did happen, in *October*; and the other in *November*; and they filled the Peoples Heads with Predictions on these Signs of the Heavens, intimating, that those Conjunctions fortold Drought, Famine, and Pestilence; in the two first of them however, they were entirely mistaken, For we had no droughty Season, but in the beginning of the Year, a hard Frost, which lasted from *December* almost to *March*; and after that moderate Weather, rather warm than hot, with refreshing Winds, and in short, very seasonable Weather; and also several very great Rains.

Some Endeavors were used to suppress the Printing of such Books as terrify'd the People, and to frighten the dispersers of them, some of whom were taken up, but nothing was done in it, as I am inform'd; The Government being unwilling to exasperate the People, who were, *as I may say*, all out of their Wits already.

Neither can I acquit those Ministers, that in their Sermons, rather sunk, than lifted up the Hearts of their Hearers; many of them no doubt did it for the strengthning the Resolution of the

People,

People; and especially for quickning them to Repentance; but it certainly answer'd not their End, at least not in Proportion to the injury it did another Way; and indeed, as God himself thro' the whole Scriptures, rather draws to him by Invitations, and calls to turn to him and live, than drives us by Terror and Amazement; So I must confess, I thought the Ministers should have done also, imitating our blessed Lord and Master in this, that his whole Gospel, is full of Declarations from Heaven of Gods Mercy, and his readiness to receive Penitents, and forgive them; complaining, *ye will not come unto me, that ye may have Life*; and that therefore, his Gospel is called the Gospel of Peace, and the Gospel of Grace.

But we had some good Men, and that of all Persuasions and Opinions, whose Discourses were full of Torror; who spoke nothing but dismal Things; and as they brought the People together with a kind of Horror, sent them away in Tears, propheſying nothing but evil Tidings; terrifying the People with the Apprehensions of being utterly destroy'd, not guiding them, at least not enough, to Cry to Heaven for Mercy.

It was indeed, a Time of very unhappy Breaches among us in matters of Religion: Innumerable Sects, and Divisions, and seperate Opinions prevail'd among the People; the Church of *England* was restor'd indeed with the Restoration of the Monarchy, about four Year before; but the Ministers and Preachers of the Presbyterians, and Independants, and of all the other Sorts of Professions, had begun to gather seperate Societies, and erect Altar against Altar, and all those had their Meetings for Worship apart, as they have but not so many then, the Dissenters being not thorowly form'd into a Body as they are since, and those Congregations which were thus gather'd together,

gether, were yet but few; and even those that were, the Government did not allow, but endeavour'd to suppress them, and shut up their Meetings.

But the Visitation reconcil'd them again, at least for a Time, and many of the best and most valuable Ministers and Preachers of the Dissenters, were suffer'd to go into the Churches, where the Incumbents were fled away, as many were, not being able to stand it; and the People flockt without Distinction to hear them preach, not much inquiring who or what Opinion they were of: But after the Sickness was over, that Spirit of Charity abated, and every Church being again supply'd with their own Ministers, or others presented, where the Minister was dead, Things return'd to their old Channel again.

One Mischief always introduces another: These Terrors and Apprehensions of the People, led them into a Thousand weak, foolish, and wicked Things, which, they wanted not a Sort of People really wicked, to encourage them to; and this was running about to Fortune-tellers, Cunning-men, and Astrologers, to know their Fortune, or, as 'tis vulgarly express'd, to have their Fortunes told them, their Nativities calculated, and the like; and this Folly, presently made the Town swarm with a wicked Generation of Pretenders to Magick, to the *Black Art, as they call'd it*, and I know not what; Nay, to a Thousand worse Dealings with the Devil, than they were really guilty of; and this Trade grew so open, and so generally practised, that it became common to have Signs and Inscriptions set up at Doors; here lives a Fortune-teller; here lives an Astrologer; here you may have your Nativity calculated, and the like; and Fryar *Bacon's* Brazen-Head, which was the usual Sign of these Peoples Dwellings, was to be seen

ſeen almoſt in every Street, or elſe the Sign of Mother *Shipton*, or of *Merlin*'s Head, and the like.

With what blind, abſurd, and ridiculous Stuff, theſe Oracles of the Devil pleas'd and ſatisfy'd the People, I really know not; but certain it is, that innumerable Attendants crouded about their Doors every Day; and if but a grave Fellow in a Velvet Jacket, a Band, and a black Cloak, which was the Habit thoſe Quack Conjurers generally went in, was but ſeen in the Streets, the People would follow them, in Crowds and ask them Queſtions, as they went along.

I need not mention, what a horrid Deluſion this was, or what it tended to; but there was no Remedy for it, till the Plague it ſelf put an End to it all; and I ſuppoſe, clear'd the Town of moſt of thoſe Calculators themſelves. One Miſchief was, that if the poor People ask'd theſe mock Aſtrologers, whether there would be a Plague, or no? they all agreed in the general to anſwer, *Yes*, for that kept up their Trade; and had the People not been kept in a Fright about that, the Wizards would preſently have been rendred uſeleſs, and their Craft had been at an end: But they always talked to them of ſuch and ſuch Influences of the Stars, of the Conjunctions of ſuch and ſuch Planets, which muſt neceſſarily bring Sickneſs and Diſtempers, and conſequently the Plague: And ſome had the Aſſurance to tell them, the Plague was begun already, which was too true, tho' they that ſaid ſo, knew nothing of the Matter.

The Miniſters, to do them Juſtice, and Preachers of moſt Sorts, that were ſerious and underſtanding Perſons, thundred againſt theſe, and other wicked Practiſes, and expoſed the Folly as well as the Wickedneſs of them together; And the moſt ſober and judicious People deſpis'd and abhor'd them: But it was impoſſible to make any Impreſſion upon the

middling People, and the working labouring Poor; their Fears were predominant over all their Paſſions; and they threw away their Money in a moſt diſtracted Manner upon thoſe Whymſies. Maid-Servants eſpecially and Men-Servants, were the chief of their Cuſtomers; and their Queſtion generally was, after the firſt demand of, *Will there be a Plague?* I ſay, the next Queſtion was, *Oh, Sir! For the Lord's Sake, what will become of me? Will my Miſtreſs keep me, or will ſhe turn me off? Will ſhe ſtay here, or will ſhe go into the Country? And if ſhe goes into the Country, will ſhe take me with her, or leave me here to be ſtarv'd and undone.* And the like of Men-Servants.

The Truth is, the Caſe of poor Servants was very diſmal, as I ſhall have occaſion to mention again by and by; for it was apparent, a prodigious Number of them would be turn'd away, and it was ſo; and of them abundance periſhed; and particuly of thoſe that theſe falſe Prophets had flattered with Hopes, that they ſhould be continued in their Services, and carried with their Maſters and Miſtreſſes into the Country; and had not publick Charity provided for theſe poor Creatures, whoſe Number was exceeding great, and in all Caſes of this Nature muſt be ſo, they would have been in the worſt Condition of any People in the City.

Theſe Things agitated the minds of the common People for many Months, while the firſt Apprehenſions, were upon them; and while the Plague, was not, as I may ſay, yet broken out: But I muſt alſo not forget, that the more ſerious Part of the Inhabitants behav'd after another Manner: The Government encouraged their Devotion, and appointed publick Prayers, and Days of faſting and Humiliation, to make publick Confeſſion of Sin, and implore the Mercy of God, to avert the dreadful Judgment, which hung over their Heads; and it is not to be expreſs'd with what Alacrity the People

People of all perſuaſions enbraced the Occaſion; how they flock'd to the Churches and Meetings, and they were all ſo throng'd, that there was often no coming near, no, not to the very Doors of the largeſt Churches; Alſo there were daily Prayers appointed Morning and Evening at ſeveral Churches, and Days of private praying at other Places; at all which the People attended, I ſay, with an uncommon Devotion: Several private Families alſo, as well of one Opinion as of another, kept Family Faſts, to which they admitted their near Relations only: So that in a Word, thoſe People, who were really ſerious and religious, apply'd themſelves in a truly Chriſtian Manner, to the proper Work of Repentance and Humiliation, as a Chriſtian People ought to do.

Again the publick ſhew'd, that they would bear their Share in theſe Things; the very Court, which was then Gay and Luxurious, put on a Face of juſt Concern, for the publick Danger: All the Plays and Interludes, which after the Manner of the *French* Court, had been ſet up, and began to encreaſe among us, were forbid to Act; the gaming Tables, publick dancing Rooms, and Muſic Houſes which multiply'd, and began to debauch the Manners of the People, were ſhut up and ſuppreſs'd; and the Jack-puddings, Merry-andrews, Puppet-ſhows, Rope-dancers, and ſuch like doings, which had bewitch'd the poor common People, ſhut up their Shops, finding indeed no Trade; for the Minds of the People, were agitated with other Things; and a kind of Sadneſs and Horror at theſe Things, ſat upon the Countenances, even of the common People; Death was before their Eyes, and every Body began to think of their Graves, not of Mirth and Diverſions.

But even thoſe wholeſome Reflections, which rightly manag'd, would have moſt happily led the

People to fall upon their Knees, make Confeſſion of their Sins, and look up to their merciful Saviour for Pardon, imploreing his Compaſſion on them, in ſuch a Time of their Diſtreſs; by which, we might have been as a ſecond *Nineveh*, had a quite contrary Extreme in the common People; who ignorant and ſtupid in their Reflections, as they were brutiſhly wicked and thoughtleſs before, were now led by their Fright to extremes of Folly; and as I have ſaid before, that they ran to Conjurers and Witches, and all Sorts of Decievers, to know what ſhould become of them; who fed their Fears, and kept them always alarm'd, and awake, on purpoſe to delude them, and pick their Pockets: So, they were as mad, upon their running after Quacks, and Mountebanks, and every practiſing old Woman, for Medicines and Remedies; ſtoreing themſelves with ſuch Multitudes of Pills, Potions, and Preſervatives, as they were call'd; that they not only ſpent their Money, but even poiſon'd themſelves before-hand, for fear of the Poiſon of the Infection, and prepar'd their Bodies for the Plague, inſtead of preſerving them againſt it. On the other Hand, it is incredible, and ſcarce to be imagin'd, how the Poſts of Houſes, and Corners of Streets were plaſter'd over with Doctors Bills, and Papers of ignorant Fellows; quacking and tampering in Phyſick, and inviting the People to come to them for Remedies; which was generally ſet off, with ſuch flouriſhes as theſe, (*viz.*) INFALLIBLE preventive Pills againſt the Plague. NEVER-FAILING Preſervatives againſt the Infection. SOVERAIGN Cordials againſt the Corruption of the Air. EXACT Regulations for the Conduct of the Body, in Caſe of an Infection: Antipeſtilential Pills. INCOMPARABLE Drink againſt the Plague, never found

out

out before. An UNIVERSAL Remedy for the Plague. The ONLY-TRUE Plague-Water. The ROYAL-ANTIDOTE against all Kinds of Infection; and such a Number more that I cannot reckon up; and if I could, would fill a Book of themselves to set them down.

Others set up Bills, to summons People to their Lodgings for Directions and Advice in the Case of Infection: These had spacious Titles also, such as these.

An eminent High-Dutch *Physician, newly come over from* Holland, *where he resided during all the Time of the great Plague, last Year, in* Amsterdam; *and cured multitudes of People, that actually had the Plague upon them.*

An Italian *Gentlewoman just arrived from* Naples, *having a choice Secret to prevent Infection, which she found out by her great Experience, and did wonderful Cures with it in the late Plague there; wherein there died* 20000 *in one Day.*

An antient Gentlewoman having practised, with great Success, in the late Plague in this City, Anno 1636, *gives her advice only to the Female Sex. To be spoke with,* &c.

An experienc'd Physician, who has long studied the the Doctrine of Antidotes against all Sorts of Poison and Infection, has after 40 *Years Practise, arrived to such Skill, as may, with God's Blessing, direct Persons how to prevent their being touch'd by any Contagious Distemper whatsoever. He directs the Poor* gratis.

I take notice of these by way of Specimen: I could give you two or three Dozen of the like, and yet have abundance left behind. 'Tis sufficient from these to appriſe any one, of the Humour of

those Times; and how a Set of Thieves and Pick-pockets, not only robb'd and cheated the poor People of their Money, but poisoned their Bodies with odious and fatal preparations; some with Mercury, and some with other things as bad, perfectly remote from the Thing pretended to; and rather hurtful than serviceable to the Body in case an Infection followed.

I cannot omit a Subtilty of one of those Quack-operators, with which he gull'd the poor People to croud about him, but did nothing for them without Money. He had it seems, added to his Bills, which he gave about the Streets, this Advertisement in Capital Letters, (*viz.*) *He gives Advice to the Poor for nothing.*

Abundance of poor People came to him accordingly, to whom he made a great many fine Speeches; examin'd them of the State of their Health, and of the Constitution of their Bodies, and told them many good things for them to do, which were of no great Moment: But the Issue and Conclusion of all was, that he had a preparation, which if they took such a Quantity of, every Morning, he would pawn his Life, they should never have the Plague, no, tho' they lived in the House with People that were infected: This made the People all resolve to have it; But then the Price of that was *so much*, I think 'twas half-a-Crown: But, Sir, says one poor Woman, I am a poor Alms-Woman, and am kept by the Parish, and your Bills say, you give the Poor your help for nothing. Ay, good Woman, says the Doctor, so I do, as I publish'd there. I give my Advice to the Poor for nothing; but not my Physick. Alas, Sir! says she, that is a Snare laid for the Poor then; for you give them your Advice for nothing, that is to say, you advise them gratis, to buy your Physick for their Money; so does

does every Shop-keeper with his Wares. Here the Woman began to give him ill Words, and ſtood at his Door all that Day, telling her Tale to all the People that came, till the Doctor finding ſhe turn'd away his Cuſtomers; was oblig'd to call her up Stairs again, and give her his Box of Phyſick for nothing, which, perhaps too was *good for nothing when ſhe had it.*

But to return to the people, whoſe Confuſions fitted them to be impos'd upon by all Sorts of Pretenders, and by every Mountebank. There is no doubt, but theſe quacking Sort of Fellows rais'd great gains out of the miſerable People; for we daily found, the Crouds that ran after them were infinitely greater, and their Doors were more thronged than thoſe of Dr. *Brooks*, Dr. *Upton*, Dr. *Hodges*, Dr. *Berwick*, or any, tho' the moſt famous Men of the Time: And I was told, that ſome of them got five Pound a Day by their Phyſick.

But there was ſtill another Madneſs beyond all this, which may ſerve to give an Idea of the diſtracted humour of the poor People at that Time; and this was their following a worſe Sort of Deceivers than any of theſe; for theſe petty Thieves only deluded them to pick their Pockets, and get their Money; in which their Wickedneſs, *whatever it was*, lay chiefly on the Side of the Deceiver's deceiving, not upon the Deceived: But in this Part I am going to mention, it lay chiefly in the People deceiv'd, or equally in both; and this was in wearing Charms, Philters, Exorciſms, Amulets, and I know not what Preparations, to fortify the Body with them againſt the Plague; as if the Plague was not the Hand of God, but a kind of a Poſſeſſion of an evil Spirit; and that it was to be kept off with Croſſings, Signs of the Zodiac, Papers tied up with ſo many Knots; and certain Words, or Figures written on them, as particular-

ly the Word *Abracadabra*, form'd in Triangle, or Pyramid, thus.

ABRACADABRA
ABRACADABR
ABRACADAB
ABRACADA
ABRACAD
ABRACA
ABRAC
ABRA
ABR
AB
A

Others had the Jesuits Mark in a Cross.

I H
S

Others nothing but this Mark thus.

I might spend a great deal of Time in my Exclamations against the Follies, and indeed Wickedness of those things, in a Time of such Danger, in a matter of such Consequences as this, of a National Infection, But my Memorandums of these things relate rather to take notice only of the Fact, and mention that it was so: How the poor People found the Insufficiency of those things, and how many of them were afterwards carried away in the Dead-Carts, and thrown into the common Graves of every Parish, with these hellish Charms and Trumpery hanging about their Necks, remains to be spoken of as we go along.

All this was the Effect of the Hurry the People were in, after the first Notion of the Plague being at hand was among them: And which may be said to be from about *Michaelmas* 1664, but more particularly after the two Men died in St *Giles*'s, in the Beginning of *December*. And again, after another Alarm in *February*; for when the Plague evidently spread it self, they soon began to see the Folly of trusting to those unperforming Creatures, who had Gull'd them of their Money,

Money, and then their Fears work'd another way, namely, to Amazement and Stupidity, not knowing what Courſe to take, or what to do, either to help or relieve themſelves; but they ran about from one Neighbours Houſe to another; and even in the Streets, from one Door to another with repeated Cries, of, *Lord have Mercy upon us, what ſhall we do?*

Indeed, the poor People were to be pity'd in one particular Thing, in which they had little or no Relief, and which I Deſire to mention with a ſerious Awe and Reflection; which perhaps, every one that reads this, may not reliſh: Namely, that whereas Death now began not, *as we may ſay*, to hover over every ones Head only, but to look into their Houſes, and Chambers, and ſtare in their Faces: Tho' there might be ſome ſtupidity, and dullneſs of the Mind, and there was ſo, a great deal; yet, there was a great deal of juſt Alarm, ſounded into the very inmoſt Soul, *if I may ſo ſay* of others: Many Conſciences were awakened; many hard Hearts melted into Tears; many a penitent Confeſſion was made of Crimes long concealed: would wound the Souls of any Chriſtian, to have heard the dying Groans of many a deſpairing Creature, and none durſt come near to comfort them: Many a Robbery, many a Murder, was then confeſt aloud, and no Body ſurviving to Record the Accounts of it. People might be heard even into the Streets as we paſs'd along, calling upon God for Mercy, thro' Jeſus Chriſt, *and ſaying*, I have been a Thief, I have been an Adulterer, I have been a Murderer, and the like; and none durſt ſtop to make the leaſt Inquiry into ſuch Things, or to adminiſter Comfort to the poor Creatures, that in the Anguiſh both of Soul and Body thus cry'd out. Some of the Miniſters did Viſit the Sick at firſt, and for a little while, but it was not to be done; it would

have

have been preſent Death, to have gone into ſome Houſes: The very buryers of the Dead, who were the hardnedeſt Creatures in Town, were ſometimes beaten back, and ſo terrify'd, that they durſt not go into Houſes, where the whole Families were ſwept away together, and where the Circumſtances were more particularly horrible as ſome were; but this was indeed, at the firſt Heat of the Diſtemper.

Time enur'd them to it all; and they ventured every where afterwards, without Heſitation, as I Occaſion to mention at large hereafter.

I am ſuppoſing now, the Plague to be begun, as I have ſaid, and that the Magiſtrates begun to take the Condition of the People, into their ſerious Conſideration; what they did as to the Regulation of the Inhabitants, and of infected Families. I ſhall ſpeak to by it ſelf; but as to the Affair of Health, it is proper to mention it here, that having ſeen the fooliſh Humour of the People, in running after Quacks, and Mountebanks, Wizards, and Fortune-tellers, which they did as above, even to Madneſs. The Lord Mayor, a very ſober and religious Gentleman appointed Phyſicians and Surgeons for Relief of the poor; I mean, the diſeaſed poor; and in particular, order'd the College of Phyſicians to publiſh Directions for cheap Remedies, for the Poor, in all the Circumſtances of the Diſtemper. This indeed was one of the moſt charitable and judicious Things that could be done at that Time; for this drove the People from haunting the Doors of every Diſperſer of Bills; and from taking down blindly, and without Conſideration, Poiſon for Phyſick, and Death inſtead of Life.

This Direction of the Phyſicians was done by a Conſultation of the whole College, and as it was particularly calculated for the uſe of the Poor; and for cheap Medicines it was made publick,

ſo

so that every Body might see it; and Copies were given *gratis* to all that desired it: But as it is publick, and to be seen on all Occasions, I need not give the Reader of this, the Trouble of it.

I shall not be supposed to lessen the Authority or Capacity of the Physicians, when, I say, that the Violence of the Distemper, when it came to its Extremity, was like the Fire the next Year; The Fire which consumed what the Plague could not touch, defy'd all the Application of Remedies; the Fire Engines were broken the Buckets thrown away; and the Power of Man was baffled, and brought to an End; so the Plague defied all Medicince; the very Physicians were seized with it, with their Preservatives in their Mouths; and Men went about prescribing to others and telling rhem what to do, till the Tokens were upon them, and they dropt down dead, destroyed by that very Enemy, they directed others to oppose. This was the Case of several Physicians, even some of them the most eminent; and of several of the most skilful Surgeons; Abundance of Quacks too died, who had the Folly to trust to their own Medicines, which they must needs be conscious to themselves, were good for nothing; and who rather ought, like other Sorts of Thieves, to have run away, sensible of their Guilt, from the Justice that they could not but expect should punish them, as they knew they had deserved.

Not that it is any Derogation from the Labour, or Application of the Physicans, to say, they fell in the common Calamity; nor is it so intended by me; it rather is to their Praise, that they ventured their Lives so far as even to lose them in the Service of Mankind; They endeavoured to do good, and to save the Lives of others, But

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we were not to expect, that the Physicians could stop God's Judgments, or prevent a Distemper eminently armed from Heaven, from executing the Errand it was sent about,

Doubtless, the Physicians assisted many by their Skill, and by their Prudence and Applications, to the saving of their Lives, and restoring their Health: But it is no lessening their Character, or their Skill, to say, they could not cure those that had the Tokens upon them, or those who were mortally infected before the Physicians were sent for, as was frequently the Case.

It remains to mention now what publick Measures were taken by the Magistrates for the general Safety, and to prevent the spreading of the Distemper, when it first broke out: I shall have frequent Occasion to speak of their Prudence of the Magistrates, their Charity, the Vigilance for the Poor, and for preserving good Order; furnishing Provisions, and the like, when the Plague was encreased, as it afterwards was. But I am now upon the Order and Regulations they published for the Government of infected Families.

I mention'd above shutting of Houses up; and it is needful to say something particularly to that; for this Part of the History of the Plague is very melancholy; *but the most grievous Story must be told.*

About *June* the Lord Mayor of *London*, and the Court of Aldermen, as I have said, began more particularly to concern themselves for the Regulation of the City.

The Justices of Peace for *Middlesex*, by Direction of the Secretary of State, had begun to shut up Houses in the Parishes of St. *Giles's in the Fields*, St. *Martins*, St. *Clement Danes*, *&c.* and it was with good Success; for in several Streets, where the

Plague

Plague broke out, upon ſtrict guarding the Houſes that were infected, and taking Care to bury thoſe that died, immediatly after they were known to be dead, the Plague ceaſed in thoſe Streets. It was alſo obſerv'd, that the Plague decreas'd ſooner in thoſe Pariſhes, after they had been viſited to the full, than it did in the Pariſhes of *Biſhopſgate*, *Shoreditch*, *Aldgate*. *White-Chappel*, *Stepney*, and others, the early Care taken in that Manner, being a great means to the putting a Cheque to it.

This ſhutting up of Houſes was a method firſt taken, as I underſtand, in the Plague, which happened in 1603, at the Coming of King *James* the Firſt to the Crown, and the Power of ſhutting People up in their own Houſes, was granted by Act of Parliament, entitled, *An Act for the charitable Relief and Ordering of Perſons infected with the Plague.* On which Act of Parliament, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of *London*, founded the Order they made at this Time, and which took Place the 1ſt of *July* 1665, when the Numbers infected within the City, were but few, the laſt Bill for the 92 Pariſhes being but four; and ſome Houſes having been ſhut up in the City, and ſome ſick People being removed to the Peſt-Houſe beyond *Bunhill-Fields*, in the Way to *Iſlington*; I ſay, by theſe Means, when there died near one thouſand a Week in the Whole, the Number in the City was but 28, and the City was preſerv'd more healthy in Proportion, than any other Places all the Time of the Infection.

Theſe Orders of my Lord Mayor's were publiſh'd, as I have ſaid, the latter End of *June*, and took Place from the firſt of *July*, and were as follows, (*viz.*)

OR-

ORDERS *Conceived and Published by the* Lord MAYOR *and* Aldermen *of the City of* London, *concerning the Infection of the* Plague. 1665.

'WHEREAS in the Reign of our late 'Sovereign King *James*, of happy Memory, an Act was made for the charitable Relief and ordering of Persons infected with 'the Plague; whereby Authority was given to Justices of the Peace, Mayors, Bayliffs and other 'head Officers, to apppint within their several 'Limits, Examiners, Searchers, Watchmen, Keepers, and Buriers for the Persons and Places infected, and to minister unto them Oaths for the 'Performance of their Offices. And the same Statute did also authorize the giving of other Directions, as unto them for the present Necessity 'should seem good in their Discretions. It is now 'upon special Consideration, thought very expedient for preventing and avoiding of Infection 'of Sickness (if it shall so please Almighty God) 'that these Officers following be appointed, and 'these Orders hereafter duly observed.

Examiners to be appointed in every Parish.

'FIRST, It is thought requisite, and so ordered, that in every Parish there be one, 'two, or more Persons of good Sort and Credit, 'chosen and appointed by the Alderman, his 'Deputy, and common-Council of every Ward, 'by the Name of Examiners, to continue in that 'Office the Space of two Monrhs at least: And 'if any fit Personso appointed, shall refuse to undertake

'dertake the ſame, the ſaid parties ſo refuſing, to 'be committed to Priſon until they ſhall con-'form themſelves accordingly.

The Examiuers Office.

'THAT theſe Examiners be ſworn by the Al-'dermen, to enquire and learn from time to 'time what Houſes in every Pariſh be Viſited, and 'what Perſons be Sick, and of what Diſeaſes, as 'near as they can inform themſelves; and upon 'doubt in that Caſe, to command Reſtraint of Ac-'ceſs, until it appear what the Diſeaſe ſhall prove: 'And if they find any Perſon ſick of the Infection, 'to give order to the Conſtable that the Houſe be 'ſhut up; and if the Conſtable ſhall be found Re-'miſs or Negligent, to give preſent Notice there-'of to the Alderman of the Ward.

Watchmen.

'THAT to every infected Houſe there be ap-'pointed two Watchmen, one for every Day, 'and the other for the Night: And that theſe 'Watchmen have a ſpecial care that no Perſon go 'in or out of ſuch infected Houſes, whereof they 'have the Charge, upon pain of ſevere Puniſh-'ment. And the ſaid Watchman to do ſuch fur-'ther Offices as the ſick Houſe ſhall need and re-'quire: and if the Watchmen be ſent upon any 'Buſineſs, to lock up the Houſe, and take the Key 'with him: And the Watchman by Day to attend 'until ten of the Clock at Night: And the Watch-'man by Night untill ſix in the Morning.

Searchers.

'THAT there be a ſpecial care to appoint 'Women-Searchers in every Pariſh, ſuch as 'are of honeſt Reputation, and of the beſt Sort as 'can be got in this kind: And theſe to be ſworn to

'make

'make due Search, and true Report to the utmost of 'their Knowledge, whether the Persons whose Bo- 'dies they are appointed to Search, do die of the In- 'fection, or of what other Diseases, as near as they 'can. And that the Physicians who shall be appoint- 'ed for Cure and Prevention of the Infection, do call 'before them the said Searchers, who are, or shall be 'appointed for the several Parishes under their res- 'pective Cares; to the end they may consider, whether 'they are fitly qualified for that Employment; and 'charge them from time to time as they shall see 'Cause, if they appear defective in their Duties.

'That no Searcher during this time of Visitation, 'be permitted to use any publick Work or Employ- 'ment, or keep any Shop or Stall, or be employed 'as a Landress, or in any other common Employ- 'ment whatsoever.

Chirurgeons.

'FOR better assistance of the Searchers, for as 'much as there hath been heretofore great abuse 'in misreporting the Disease, to the further spread- 'ing of the Infection: It is therefore ordered, that 'there be chosen and appointed able and discreet 'Chirurgeons, besides those that do already belong 'to the *Pest-House*: Amongst whom the City and Li- 'berties to be quartered as the places lie most apt 'and convenient; and every of these to have one 'Quarter for his Limit: and the said Chirurgeons in 'every of their Limits to join with the Searchers for 'the View of the Body, to the end there may be a 'true Report made of the Disease.

'And further, that the said Chirurgeons shall visit 'and search such like Persons as shall either send for 'them, or be named and directed unto them, by the 'Examiners of every Parish, and inform themselves 'of the Disease of the said Parties.

'And

'And forasmuch as the said Chirurgeons are to be 'sequestred from all other Cures, and kept only to 'this Disease of the Infection; It is order'd, That 'every of the said Chirurgeons shall have Twelve-'pence a Body searched by them, to be paid out of 'the Goods of the Party searched, if he be able, or 'otherwise by the Parish.

Nurse-keepers.

'IF any Nurse-keeper shall remove her self out of 'any infected House before twenty eight Days af-'ter the Decease of any Person dying of the Infecti-'on, the House to which the said Nurse-keeper doth 'so remove her self, shall be shut up until the said 'twenty eight Days be expired.

ORDERS concerning infected Houses, and Persons sick of the Plague.

Notice to be given of the Sickness.

'THE Master of every House, as soon as any 'one in his House complaineth, either of Botch, 'or Purple, or Swelling in any part of his Body, or 'falleth otherwise dangerously Sick, without appa-'rent Cause of some other Disease, shall give know-'ledge thereof to the Examiner of Health, within 'two Hours after the said Sign shall appear.

Sequestration of the Sick.

'AS soon as any Man shall be found by this Exa-'miner, Chirurgeon or Searcher to be sick of 'the Plague, he shall the same Night be sequestred 'in the same House, and in case he be so sequestred, 'then, though he afterwards die not, the House 'wherein he sickned, should be shut up for a Month,

'after the use of the due Preservatives taken by the 'rest.

Airing the Stuff.

'FOR Sequestration of the Goods and Stuff of 'the Infection, their Bedding, and Apparel, and 'Hangings of Chambers, must be well aired with 'Fire, and such Perfumes as are requisite within the 'infected House, before they be taken again to use: 'This to be done by the Appointment of the Exami-'ner.

Shutting up of the House.

'IF any Person shall have visited any Man, known to 'be infected of the Plague, or entred willingly in-'to any known infected House, being not allowed: 'The House wherein he inhabiteth, shall be shut up 'for certain Days by the Examiners Direction.

None to be removed out of infected Houses, but, &c.

'ITEM, That none be remov'd out of the House 'where he falleth sick of the Infection, into any 'other House in the City, (except it be to the *Pest-'House* or a Tent, or unto some such House, which 'the Owner of the said visited House holdeth in his 'own Hands, and occupieth by his own Servants) 'and so as Security be given to the Parish, whither 'such Remove is made; that the Attendance and 'Charge about the said visited Persons shall be ob-'served and charged in all the Particularities before 'expressed, without any Cost of that Parish, to which 'any such Remove shall happen to be made, and this 'Remove to be done by Night: And it shall be law-'ful to any Person that hath two Houses, to remove 'either his sound or his infected People to his spare 'House at his choice, so as if he send away first 'his Sound, he not after send thither the Sick, nor 'again unto the Sick the Sound. And that the same

which

'which he sendeth, be for one Week at the least 'shut up, and secluded from Company, for fear of 'some Infection, at the first not appearing.

Burial of the Dead.

'THAT the Burial of the Dead by this Visitation, be at most convenient Hours, always either before Sun-rising, or after Sun-setting, with 'the Privity of the Church-wardens or Constable, 'and not otherwise; and that no Neighbours nor 'Friends be suffered to accompany the Corps to 'Church, or to enter the House visited, upon pain 'of having his House shut up, or be imprisoned.

'And that no Corps dying of Infection shall be buried, or remain in any Church in time of Common-Prayer, Sermon, or Lecture. And that no 'Children be suffered at time of burial of any Corps 'in any Church, Church-yard, or Burying-place to 'come near the Corps, Coffin, or Grave. And that 'all the Graves shall be at least six Foot deep.

'And further, all publick Assemblies at other Burials are to be forborn during the Continuance of 'this Visitation.

No infected Stuff to be uttered.

'THAT no Clothes, Stuff, Bedding or Garments be suffered to be carried or conveyed out of 'any infected Houses, and that the Criers and Carriers abroad of Bedding or old Apparel to be sold or 'pawned, be utterly prohibited and restrained, and 'no Brokers of Bedding or old Apparel be permitted 'to make any outward Shew, or hang forth on their 'Stalls, Shopboards or Windows towards any Street, 'Lane, Common-way or Passage, any old Bedding 'or Apparel to be sold, upon pain of Imprisonment. 'And if any Broker or other Person shall buy any 'Bedding, Apparel, or other Stuff out of any infected House, within two Months after the Infection

'hath been there, his House shall be shut up as In-
'fected, and so shall continue shut up twenty Days
'at the least.

No Person to be conveyed out of any infected House.

'IF any Person visited do fortune by negligent look-
'ing unto, or by any other Means, to come, or
'be conveyed from a Place infected, to any other
'Place; the Parish from whence such Party hath come
'or been conveyed, upon notice thereof given, shall
'at their Charge cause the said Party so visited and
'escaped, to be carried and brought back again by
'Night, and the Parties in this case offending, to be
'punished at the Direction of the Alderman of the
'Ward; and the House of the Receiver of such visi-
'ted Person, to be shut up for twenty Days.

Every visited House to be marked.

'THAT every House visited, be marked with a
'red Cross of a Foot long, in the middle of the
'Door, evident to be seen, and with these usual
'printed Words, that is to say, *Lord have Mercy upon*
'*us*, to be set close over the same Cross, there to
'continue until lawful opening of the same House.

Every visited House to be watched.

'THAT the Constables see every House shut up,
'and to be attended with Watchmen, which
'may keep them in, and minister Necessaries unto
'them at their own Charges (if they be able,) or at
'the common Charge, if they be unable: The shut-
'ting up to be for the space of four Weeks after
'all be whole.

'That precise Order be taken that the Searchers,
'Chirurgeons, Keepers and Buriers are not to pass
'the Streets without holding a red Rod or Wand of
'three Foot in Length in their Hands, open and evi-
'dent to be seen, and are not to go into any other
'House

'House then into their own, or into that whereunto 'they are directed or sent for; but to forbear and ab- 'stain from Company, especially when they have 'been lately used in any such Business or Attendance.

Inmates.

'THAT where several Inmates are in one and 'the same House, and any Person in that House 'happens to be Infected; no other Person of Fa- 'mily of such House shall be suffered to remove 'him or themselves without a Certificate from the 'Examiners of Health of that Parish; or in default 'thereof, the House whither he or they so remove, 'shall be shut up as in case of Visitation.

Hackney-Coaches.

'THAT care be taken of Hackney-Coach-men, 'that they may not (as some of them have been 'observed to do) after carrying of infected Persons to 'the *Pest-House*, and other Places, be admitted to 'common use, till their Coaches be well aired, and 'have stood unemploy'd by the Space of five or six 'Days after such Service.

ORDERS for cleansing and keeping of the Streets Sweet.

The Streets to be kept clean.

'FIRST, it is thought necessary, and so order- 'ed, that every Housholder do cause the Street 'to be daily prepared before his Door, and so to 'keep it clean swept all the Week long.

That Rakers take it from out the Houses.

'THAT the Sweeping and Filth of Houses be 'daily carry'd away by the Rakers, and that 'the Raker shall give notice of his coming, by the

'the blowing of a Horn, as hitherto hath been 'done.

Layſtalls to be made far off from the City.

'THAT the Layſtalls be removed as far as may 'be out of the City, and common Paſſages, 'and that no Nightman or other be ſuffered to em- 'pty a Vault into any Garden near about the City.

Care to be had of unwholſome Fiſh or Fleſh, and of muſty Corn.

'THAT ſpecial care be taken, that no ſtinking 'Fiſh, or unwholeſome Fleſh, or muſty Corn, 'or other corrupt Fruits, of what Sort ſoever be ſuf- 'fered to be ſold about the City, or any part of 'the ſame.

'That the Brewers and Tippling-houſes be look- 'ed unto, for muſty and unwholſome Casks.

'That no Hogs, Dogs, or Cats, or tame Pigeons, or 'Conies, be ſuffered to be kept within any part of 'the City, or any Swine to be, or ſtray in the 'Streets or Lanes, but that ſuch Swine be impound- 'ed by the Beadle or any other Officer, and the 'Owner puniſhed according to Act of Common- 'Council, and that the Dogs be killed by the 'Dog-killers appointed for that purpoſe.

ORDERS concerning looſe Perſons and idle Aſſemblies.

Beggers.

'FOrraſmuch as nothing is more complained of, 'than the Multitude of Rogues and wandring 'Beggars, that ſwarm in every place about the Ci- 'ty, being a great cauſe of the ſpreading of the In- 'fection,

'fection, and will not be avoided, notwithstanding 'any Order that have been given to the contrary: 'It is therefore now ordered, that such Constables, 'aud others, whom this Matter may any way con-'cern, take special care that no wandring Begger 'be suffered in the Streets of this City, in any fa-'shion or manner, whatsoever, upon the Penalty 'provided by the Law to be duely and severely 'executed upon them.

Plays.

'THAT all Plays, Bear-Baitings, Games, sing-'ing of Ballads, Buckler-play, or such like 'Causes of Assemblies of People, be utterly pro-'hibited, and the Parties offending severely pu-'nished by every Alderman in his Ward.

Feasting Prohibited.

'THAT all publick Feasting, and particularly 'by the Companies of this City, and Dinners 'at Taverns, Alehouses, and other Places of com-'mon Entertainment be forborn till further Order 'and Allowance; and that the Money thereby spa-'red, be preserved and emyloyed for the Benefit 'and Relief of the Poor visited with the Infection.

Tipling-Houses.

'THAT disorderly Tipling in Taverns, Ale-'houses, Coffe-houses, and Cellars be severe-'ly looked unto, as the common Sin of this Time, 'and greatest occasion of dispersing the Plague. And 'that no Company or Person be suffered to remain 'or come into any Tavern, Ale-house, or Coffe-'house to drink after nine of the Clock in the Even-'ing, according to the antient Law and Custom of 'this City, upon the Penalties ordained in that Be-'half.

'And for the better execution of these Orders, 'and such other Rules and Directions as upon fur- 'ther consideration shall be found needful; It is 'ordered and enjoined that the Aldermen, Depu- 'ties, and Common-Council-men shall meet toge- 'ther weekly, once, twice, thrice, or oftner, (as 'cause shall require) at some one general Place ac- 'customed in their respective Wards (being clear 'from Infection of the Plague) to consult how the 'said Orders may be duly put in Execution; not 'intending that any, dwelling in or near Places 'infected, shall come to the said Meeting whiles 'their coming may be doubtful. And the said Al- 'dermen, and Deputies, and Common-Council- 'men in their several Wards may put in Execu- 'tion any other good Orders that by them at their 'said Meetings shall be conceived and devised, 'for Preservation of His Majesty's Subjects from 'the Infection.'

Sir *John Lawrence* Lord Mayor. } Sir *George Waterman*, Sir *Charles Doe*. } Sheriffs.

I need not say, that these Orders extended only to such Places as were within the Lord Mayor's Jurisdiction; so it is requisite to observe, that the Justices of Peace, within those Parishes, and Places as were called the *Hamlets*, and Out-parts, took the same Method: As I remember, the Orders for shutting up of Houses, did not take Place so soon on our Side, because, as I said before, the Plague did not reach to these Eastern Parts of the Town, at least, nor begin to be very violent, till the beginning of *August*. For Example, the whole Bill, from the 11th to the 18th of *July*, was 1761, yet there dy'd but 71 of the Plague, in all those Parishes we call the *Tower-Hamlets*; and they were as follows.

Algate

Algate	14		34		65
Stepney	33	the next	58	and to the	76
White-Chappel	21	Week was	48	1ſt of *Aug.*	79
St. *Kath. Tower*	2	thus.	4	thus.	4
Trin. Minories	1		1		4
	71		145		228

It was indeed, coming on a main; for the Burials that ſame Week, were in the next adjoining Pariſhes, thus,

St. *Len. Shorditch*	64	the next Week	84	to the 1ſt.	110
St. *But. Biſhopſg.*	65	prodigiouſly en-	105	of *Aug.*	116
St. *Giles Crippl.*	213	creaſed, as	421	thus.	554
	342		610		780

This ſhutting up of houſes was at firſt counted a very cruel and Unchriſtian Method, and the poor People ſo confin'd made bitter Lamentations; Complaints of the Severity of it, were alſo daily brought to my Lord Mayor, of Houſes cauſeleſsly, (and ſome maliciouſly) ſhut up: I cannot ſay, but upon Enquiry, many that complained ſo loudly, were found in a Condition to be continued, and others again Inſpection being made upon the ſick Perſon, and the Sickneſs not appearing infections, or if uncertain, yet, on his being content to be carried to the Peſt-Houſe, were releaſed.

It is true, that the locking up the Doors of Peoples Houſes, and ſetting a Watchman there Night and Day, to prevent their ſtirring out, or any coming to them; when, perhaps, the ſound People, in the Family, might have eſcaped, if they had been remov'd from the Sick, looked very hard and cruel; and many People periſhed in theſe miſerable Confinements, which 'tis reaſonable

able to believe, would not have been diſtemper'd if they had had Liberty, tho' the Plague was in the Houſe; at which the People were very clamorous and uneaſie at firſt, and ſeveral Violences were committed, and Injuries offered to the Men, who were ſet to watch the Houſes ſo ſhut up; alſo ſeveral People broke out by Force, in many Places, as I ſhall obſerve by and by: But it was a publick Good that juſtified the private Miſchief; and there was no obtaining the leaſt Mitigation, by any Application to Magiſtrates, or Government, at that Time, at leaſt, not that I heard of. This put the People upon all Manner of Stratagem, in order, if poſſible, to get out, and it would fill a little Volume, to ſet down the Arts us'd by the People of ſuch Houſes, to ſhut the Eyes of the Watchmen, who were employ'd, to deceive them, snd to eſcape, or break out from them; in which frequent Scuffles, and ſome Miſchief happened; of which by it ſelf.

As I went along *Houndſditch* one Morning, about eight a-Clock, there was a great Noiſe; it is true indeed, there was not much Croud, becauſe People were not very free to gather together, or to ſtay long together, when they were there, nor did I ſtay long there: But the Outcry was loud enough to prompt my Curioſity, and I call'd to one that look'd out of a Window, and ask'd what was the Matter.

A Watchman, it ſeems, had been employed to keep his Poſt at the Door of a Houſe, which was infected, or ſaid to be infected, and was ſhut up; he had been there all Night for two Nights together, as he told his Story, and the Day Watchman had been there one Day. and was now come to relieve him: All this while no Noiſe had been heard in the Houſe, no Light had been ſeen; they call'd for nothing, ſent him of no Errands,

rands, which us'd to be the chief Buſineſs of the Watchman; neither had they given him any Diſturbance, as he ſaid, from the *Monday* afternoon, when he heard great crying and ſcreaming in the Houſe, which, as he ſuppoſed, was occaſioned by ſome of the Family dying juſt at that Time: it ſeems the Night before, the Dead-Cart, as it was called, had been ſtopt there, and a Servant-Maid had been brought down to the Door dead, and the Buriers or Bearers, as they were call'd, put her into the Cart, wrapt only in a green Rug, and carried her away.

The Watchman had knock'd at the Door, it ſeems, when he heard that Noiſe and Crying, as above, and no Body anſwered, a great while; but at laſt one look'd out and ſaid with an angry quick Tone, and yet a Kind of crying Voice, or a Voice of one that was crying, *What d'ye want, that ye make ſuch a knocking?* He anſwer'd, *I am the Watchman! how do you do? What is the Matter?* The Perſon anſwered, *What is that to you? Stop the Dead-Cart.* This It ſeems, was about one a-Clock; ſoon after, *as the Fellow ſaid*, he ſtopped the Dead-Cart, and then knock'd again, but no Body anſwer'd: He continued knocking, and the Bellman call'd out ſeveral Times, *Bring out your Dead*; but no Body anſwered, till the Man that drove the Cart being call'd to other Houſes, would ſtay no longer, and drove away.

The Watchman knew not what to make of all this, ſo he let them alone, till the Morning-Man, or Day Watchman, as they call'd him, came to relieve him, giving him an Account of the Particulars, they knock'd at the Door a great while, but no body anſwered; and they obſerv'd, that the Window, or Caſement, at which the Perſon had look'd out, who had anſwer'd before, continued open, being up two Pair of Stairs.

Upon

Upon this, the two Men to satisfy their Curiosity, got a long Ladder, and one of them went up to the Window, and look'd into the Room, where he saw a Woman lying dead upon the Floor, in a dismal Manner, having no Cloaths on her but her Shift: But tho' he call'd aloud, and putting in his long Staff, knock'd hard on the Floor, yet no Body stirr'd or answered; neither could he hear any Noise in the House.

He came down again, upon this, and acquainted his Fellow, who went up also, and finding it just so, they resolv'd, to acquaint either the Lord Mayor, or some other Magistrate of it, but did not offer to go in at the Window: The Magistrate it seems, upon the Information of the two Men, ordered the House to be broken open, a Constable, and other Persons being appointed to be present, that nothing might be plundred; and accordingly it was so done, when no Body was found in the House, but that young Woman, who having been infected, and past Recovery, the rest had left her to die by her self, and were every one gone, having found some Way to delude the Watchman, and get open the Door, or get out at some Back Door, or over the Tops of the Houses, so that he knew nothing of it; and as to those Crys and Shrieks, which he heard, it was suppos'd, they were the passionate Cries of the Family, at the bitter parting, which, to be sure, it was to them all; this being the Sister to the Mistress of the Family. The Man of the House, his Wife, several Children, and Servants, being all gone and fled, whether sick or sound, that I could never learn; nor, indeed, did I make much Enquiry after it.

Many such escapes were made, out of infected Houses, as particularly, when the Watchman was sent of some Errand; for it was his Business to go

of any Errand, that the Family ſent him of, that is to ſay, for Neceſſaries, ſuch as Food and Phyſick; to fetch Phyſicians, if they would come, or Surgeons, or Nurſes, or to order the Dead-Cart, and the like; But with this Condition too, that when he went, he was to lock up the Outer-Door of the Houſe, and take the Key away with him; to evade this, and cheat the Watchmen, People got two or three Keys made to their Locks; or they found Ways to unſcrew the Locks, ſuch as were ſcrew'd on, and ſo take off the Lock, being in the Inſide of the Houſe, and while they ſent away the Watchman to the Market, to the Bakehouſe, or for one Trifle or another, open the Door, and go out as often as they pleas'd: But this being found out, the Officers afterwards had Orders to Padlock up the Doors on the Outſide, and place Bolts on them as they thought fit.

At another Houſe, as I was inform'd, in the Street next within *Algate*, a whole Family was ſhut up and lock'd in, becauſe the Maid-Servant was taken ſick; the Maſter of the Houſe had complain'd by his Friends to the next Alderman, and to the Lord Mayor, and had conſented to have the Maid carried to the Peſt-Houſe, but was refuſed, ſo the Door was marked with a red Croſs, a Padlock on the Outſide, as above, and a Watchman ſet to keep the Door according to publick Order.

After the Maſter of the Houſe found there was no Remedy, but that he, his Wife and his Children were to be lockt up with this poor diſtempered Servant; he call'd to the Watchman, and told him, he muſt go then and fetch a Nurſe for them, to attend this poor Girl, for that it would be certain Death to them all to oblige them to nurſe her, and told him plainly, that if he would not do this, the Maid muſt periſh either of the Diſtem-

per

per, or be ſtarv'd for want of Food; for he was reſolv'd none of his Family, ſhould go near her; and ſhe lay in the Garret four Story high, where ſhe could not Cry out, or call to any Body for Help.

The Watchman conſented to that, and went and fetch'd a Nurſe as he was appointed, and brought her to them the ſame Evening; during this interval, the Maſter of the Houſe took his Opportunity to break a large Hole thro' his Shop into a Bulk or Stall, where formerly a Cobler had ſat, before or under his Shop-window; but the Tenant as may be ſuppoſed, at ſuch a diſmal Time as that, was dead or remov'd, and ſo he had the Key in his own keeping; having made his Way into this Stall, which he cou'd not have done, if the Man had been at the Door, the Noiſe he was obliged to make, being ſuch as would have alam'd the Watchman; I ſay, having made his Way into this Stall, he ſat ſtill till the Watchman return'd with the Nurſe, and all the next Day alſo; but the Night following, having contriv'd to ſend the Watchman of another trifling Errand, which as I take it, was to an Apothecary's for a Plaſter for the Maid, which he was to ſtay for the making up, or ſome other ſuch Errand that might ſecure his ſtaying ſome Time; in that Time he conveyed himſelf, and all his Family out of the Houſe, and left the Nurſe and the Watchman to bury the poor Wench; that is, throw her into the Cart, and take care of the Houſe.

I cou'd give a great many ſuch Stories as theſe, diverting enough, which in the long Courſe of that diſmal Year, I met with, *that is* heard of, and which are very certain to be true, or very near the Tuth; that is to ſay, true in the General, for no Man could at ſuch a Time, learn all the Particulars: There was likewiſe Violence uſed with the

the Watchmen, *as was reported* in abundance of Places; and I believe, that from the Beginning of the Visitation to the End, there was not less than eighteen or twenty of them kill'd, or so wounded as to be taken up for Dead, which was supposed to be done by the People in the infected Houses which were shut up, and where they attempted to come out, and were oppos'd.

Nor indeed cou'd less be expected, for here were just so many Prisons in the Town, as there were Houses shut up; and as the People shut up or imprison'd so, were guilty of no Crime, only shut up because miserable, it was really the more intollerable to them.

It had also this Difference; that every Prison, as we may call it, had but one Jaylor; and as he had the whole House to Guard, and that many Houses were so situated, as that they had several Ways out, some more, some less, and some into several Streets; it was impossible for one Man so to Guard all the Passages, as to prevent the escape of People, made desperate by the fright of their Circumstances, by the Resentment of their usage, or by the raging of the Distemper it self; so that they would talk to the Watchman on one Side of the House, while the Family made their escape at another.

For example, in *Coleman-street*, there are abundance of Alleys, as appears still; a House was shut up in that they call *Whites*-Alley, and this House had a back Window, not a Door into a Court, which had a Passage into Bell-Alley; a Watchman was set by the Constable, at the Door of this House, and there he stood, or his Comrade Night and Day, while the Family went all away in the Evening, out at that Window into the Court, and left the poor Fellows warding, and watching, for near a Fortnight.

Not

Not far from the ſame Place, they blow'd up a Watchman with Gun-powder, and burnt the poor Fellow dreadfully, and while he made hidious Crys, and no Body would venture to come near to help him; the whole Family that were able to ſtir, got out at the Windows one Story high; two that were left Sick, calling out for Help; Care was taken to give them Nurſes to look after them, but the Perſons fled were never found, till after the Plague was abated they return'd, but as nothing cou'd be prov'd, ſo nothing could be done to them.

It is to be conſider'd too, that as theſe were Priſons without Barrs and Bolts, which our common Priſons are furniſh'd with, ſo the People let themſelves down out of their Windows, even in the Face of the Watchman, bringing Swords or Piſtols in their Hands, and threatening the poor Wretch to ſhoot him, if he ſtir'd, or call'd for Help.

In other Caſes, ſome had Gardens, and Walls, or Pales between them and their Neighbours; or Yards, and back-Houſes; and theſe by Friendſhip and Entreaties, would get leave to get over thoſe Walls, or Pales, and ſo go out at their Neighbour's Doors; or by giving Money to their Servants, get them, to let them thro' in the Night; ſo that in ſhort, the ſhutting up of Houſes, was in no wiſe to be depended upon; neither did it anſwer the End at all; ſerving more to make the People deſperate, and drive them to ſuch Extremities, as that, they would break out at all Adventures.

And that which was ſtill worſe, thoſe that did thus break out, ſpread the Infection farther by their wandring about with the Diſtemper upon them, in their deſperate Circumſtances, than they would otherwiſe have done; for whoever conſiders all the Particulars in ſuch Caſes muſt acknowlede; and we can-

cannot doubt but the ſeverity of thoſe Confinements, made many People deſperate; and made them run out of their Houſes at all Hazards, and with the Plague viſibly upon them, not knowing either whither to go, or what to do, or indeed, what they did; and many that did ſo, were driven to dreadful Exigences and Extremeties, and Periſh'd in the Streets or Fields for meer Want, or drop'd down, by the raging violence of the Fever upon them: Others wandred into the Country, and went forward any Way, as their Deſperation guided them, not knowing whether they went or would go, till faint and tir'd, and not getting any Relief; the Houſes and Villages on the Road, refuſing to admit them to lodge, whether infected or no; they have periſh'd by the Road Side, or gotten into Barns and dy'd there, none daring to come to them, or relieve them, tho' perhaps not infected, for no Body would believe them.

On the other Hand, when the Plague at firſt ſeiz'd a Family, that is to ſay, when any one Body of the Family, had gone out, and unwarily or otherwiſe catch'd the Diſtemper and brought it Home, it was certainly known by the Family, before it was known to the Officers, who, as you will ſee by the Order, were appointed to examine into the Circumſtances of all ſick Perſons, when they heard of their being ſick.

In this Interval, between their being taken Sick, and the Examiners coming, the Maſter of the Houſe had Leiſure and Liberty to remove himſelf, or all his Family, if he knew whether to go, and many did ſo: But the great diſaſter was, that many did thus, after they were really infected themſelves, and ſo carry'd the Diſeaſe into the Houſes of thoſe who were ſo Hoſpitable as to receive them, which it muſt be confeſs'd was very cruel and ungrateful.

And this was in Part, the Reaſon of the general Notion, or ſcandal rather, which went about of the Temper of People infected; Namely, that they did not take the leaſt care, or make any Scruple of infecting others; tho' I cannot ſay, but there might be ſome Truth in it too, but not ſo general as was reported. What natural Reaſon could be given, for ſo wicked a Thing, at a Time, when they might conclude themſelves juſt going to appear at the Barr of Divine Juſtice, I know not: I am very well ſatisfy'd, that it cannot be reconcil'd to Religion and Principle, any more than it can be to Generoſity and Humanity; but I may ſpeak of that again.

I am ſpeaking now of People made deſperate, by the Apprehenſions of their being ſhut up, and their breaking out by Stratagem or Force, either before or after they were ſhut up, whoſe Miſery was not leſſen'd, when they were out, but ſadly encreaſed: On the other Hand, many that thus got away, had Retreats to go to, and other Houſes, where they lock'd themſelves up, and kept hid till the Plague was over; and many Families foreſeeing the Approach of the Diſtemper, laid up Stores of Proviſions, ſufficient for their whole Families, and ſhut themſelves up, and that ſo entirely, that they were neither ſeen or heard of, till the Infection was quite ceaſed, and then came abroad Sound and Well: I might recollect ſeveral ſuch as theſe, and give you the Particular of their Management; for doubtleſs, it was the moſt effectual ſecure Step that cou'd be taken for ſuch, whoſe Circumſtance would not admit them to remove, or who had not Retreats abroad proper for the Caſe; for in being thus ſhut up, they were as if they had been a hundred Miles off: Nor do I remember, that any one of thoſe Families miſcary'd; among theſe, ſeveral *Dutch* Merchants were

particu-

particularly remarkable, who kept their Houſes like little Garriſons beſieged, ſuffering none to go in or out, or come near them; particularly one in a Court in *Throckmorton* Street, whoſe Houſe looked into *Drapers Garden*.

But I come back to the Caſe of Families infected, and ſhut up by the Magiſtrates; the Miſery of thoſe Families is not to be expreſs'd, and it was generally in ſuch Houſes that we heard the moſt diſmal Shrieks and Out-cries of the poor People terrified, and even frighted to Death, by the Sight of the Condition of their deareſt Relations, and by the Terror of being impriſoned as they were.

I remember, and while I am writing this Story, I think I hear the very Sound of it, a certain Lady had an only Daughter, a young Maiden about 19 Years old, and who was poſſeſſed of a very Conſiderable Fortune; they were only Lodgers in the Houſe where they were: The young Woman, her Mother, and the Maid, had been abroad on ſome Occaſion, I do not remember what, for the Houſe was not ſhut up; but about two Hours after they came home, the young Lady complain'd ſhe was not well; in a quarter of an Hour more, ſhe vomited, and had a violent Pain in her Head. Pray God, ſays her Mother in a terrible Fright, my Child has not the Diſtemper! The Pain in her Head increaſing, her Mother ordered the Bed to be warm'd, and reſolved to put her to Bed; and prepared to give her things to ſweat, which was the ordinary Remedy to be taken, when the firſt Apprehenſions of the Diſtemper began.

While the Bed was airing, the Mother undreſſed the young Woman, and juſt as ſhe was laid down in the Bed, ſhe looking upon her Body with a Candle, immediately diſcovered the fatal Tokens on the Inſide of her Thighs. Her Mother

not being able to contain herſelf, threw down her Candle, and ſcriekt out in ſuch a frightful Manner, that it was enough to place Horror upon the ſtouteſt Heart in the World; nor was it one Skream, or one Cry, but the Fright, having ſeiz'd her Spirits, ſhe fainted firſt, then recovered, then ran all over the Houſe, up the Stairs and down the Stairs, like one diſtracted, and indeed really was diſtracted, and continued ſcreching and crying out for ſeveral Hours, void of all Senſe, or at leaſt, Government of her Senſes, and as I was told, never came throughly to herſelf again: As to the young Maiden, ſhe was a dead Corpſe from that Moment; for the Gangren which occaſions the Spots had ſpread her whole Body and ſhe died in leſs than two Hours: But ſtill the Mother continued crying out, not knowing any Thing more of her Child, ſeveral Hours after ſhe was dead. It is ſo long ago, that I am not certain, but I think the Mother never recover'd, but died in two or three Weeks after.

This was an extraordinary Caſe, and I am therefore the more particular in it, becauſe I came ſo much to the Knowledge of it; but there were innumerable ſuch like Caſes; and it was ſeldom, that the Weekly Bill came in, but there were two or three put in *frighted*, that is, *that may well be call'd*, frighted to Death: But beſides thoſe, who were ſo frighted to die upon the Spot, there were great Numbers frighted to other Extreams, ſome frighted out of their Senſes, ſome out of their Memory and ſome out of their Underſtanding: But I return to the ſhutting up of Houſes.

As ſeveral People, *I ſay*, got out of their Houſes by Stratagem, after they were ſhut up, ſo others got out by bribing the Watchmen, and giving them Money to let them go privately out in the Night. I muſt confeſs, I thought it at that time,

the

the most innocent Corruption, or Bribery, that any Man could be guilty of; and therefore could not but pity the poor Men, and think it was hard when three of those Watchmen, were publickly whipt thro' the Streets, for suffering People to go out of Houses shut up.

But notwithstanding that Severity, Money prevail'd with the poor Men, and many Families found Means to make Salleys out, and escape that way after they had been shut up; but these were generally such as had some Places to retreat to; and tho' there was no easie passing the Roads any whither, after the first of *August*, yet there were many Ways of retreat, and particularly, as I hinted, some got Tents and set them up in the Fields, carrying Beds, or Straw to lie on, and Provisions to eat, and so liv'd in them as Hermits in a Cell; for no Body would venture to come near them; and several Stories were told of such; some comical, some tragical, some who liv'd like wandring Pilgrims in the Desarts, and escaped by making themselves Exiles in such a Manner as is scarce to be credited, and who yet enjoyed more Liberty than was to be expected in such Cases.

I have by me a Story of two Brothers and their Kinsman, who being single Men, but that had stay'd in the City too long to get away, and indeed, not knowing where to go to have any Retreat, nor having wherewith to travel far, took a Course for their own Preservation, which, tho' in it self at first, desperate, yet was so natural, that it may be wondred, that no more did so at that Time. They were but of mean Condition, and yet not so very poor, as that they could not furnish themselves with some little Conveniencies, such as might serve to keep Life and Soul together; and finding the Distemper increasing

in a terrible Manner, they resolved to shift, as well as they could, and to be gone.

One of them had been a Soldier in the late Wars, and before that in the *Low Countries*, and having been bred to no particular Employment but his Arms; and besides being wounded, and not able to work very hard, had for some Time been employ'd at a Baker's of Sea Bisket *in Wapping*.

The Brother of this Man was a Seaman too, but some how or other, had been hurt of one Leg, that he could not go to Sea, but had work'd for his Living at a Sail Makers in *Wapping*, or there abouts; and being a good Husband, had laid up some Money, and was the richest of the Three.

The third Man was a Joiner or Carpenter by Trade, a handy Fellow; and he had no Wealth, but his Box, or Basket of Tools, with the Help of which he could at any Time get his Living, such a Time as this excepted, wherever he went, and he liv'd near *Shadwel*.

They all liv'd in *Stepney* Parish, which, as I have said, being the last that was infected, or at least violently, they stay'd there till they evidently saw the Plague was abating at the West Part of the Town, and coming towards the East where they liv'd.

The Story of those three Men, if the Reader will be content to have me give it in their own Persons, without taking upon me to either vouch the Particulars, or answer for any Mistakes. I shall give as distinctly as I can, believing the History will be a very good Pattern for any poor Man to follow, in case the like Publick Desolation should happen here; and if there may be no such Occasion, which God of his infinite Mercy grant us, still the Story may have its Uses so many Ways as that it will, I hope, never be said, that the relating has been unprofitable.

I say

I say all this previous to the History, having yet, for the present, much more to say before I quit my own Part.

I went all the first Part of the Time freely about the Streets, tho' not so freely as to run my self into apparent Danger, except when they dug the great Pit in the Church-Yard of our Parish of *Algate*; a terrible Pit it was, and I could not resist my Curiosity to go and see it; as near as I may judge, it was about 40 Foot in Length, and about 15 or 16 Foot broad; and at the Time I first looked at it, about nine Foot deep; but it was said, they dug it near 20 Foot deep afterwards, in one Part of it, till they could go no deeper for the Water: for they had it seems, dug several large Pits before this, for tho' the Plague was long a-coming to our Parish, yet when it did come, there was no Parsh in or about *London*, where it raged with such Violence as in the two Parishes of *Algate* and *WhiteChapel*.

I say they had dug several Pits in another Ground, when the Distemper began to spread in our Parish, and especially when the Dead-Carts began to go about, which, was not in our Parish, till the beginning of *August*. Into these Pits they had put perhaps 50 or 60 Bodies each, then they made larger Holes, wherein they buried all that the Cart brought in a Week, which by the middle, to the End of *August*, came to, from 200 to 400 a Week; and they could not well dig them larger, because of the Order of the Magistrates, confining them to leave no Bodies within six Foot of the Surface; and the Water coming on, at about 17 or 18 Foot, they could not well, I say, put more in one Pit; but now at the Beginning of *September*, the Plague raging in a dreadful Manner, and the Number of Burials in our Parish increasing to more than was ever buried in any Parish about *London*,

of no larger Extent, they ordered this dreadful Gulph to be dug; for such it was rather than a Pit.

They had supposed this Pit would have supply'd them for a Month or more, when they dug it, and some blam'd the Church-Wardens for suffering such a frightful Thing, telling them they were making Preparations to bury the whole Parish, and the like; but Time made it appear, the Church-Wardens knew the Condition of the Parish better than they did; for the Pit being finished the 4th of *September*, I think, they began to bury in it the 6th, and by the 20, which was just two Weeks they had thrown into it 1114 Bodies, when they were obliged to fill it up, the Bodies being then come to lie within six Foot of the Surface: I doubt not but there may be some antient Persons alive in the Parish, who can justify the Fact of this, and are able to shew even in what Part of the Church-Yard, the Pit lay, better than I can; the Mark of it also was many Years to be seen in the Church-Yard on the Surface lying in Length, Parallel with the Passage which goes by the West Wall of the Church-Yard, out of *Houndsditch*, and turns East again into *White-Chappel*, coming out near the three Nuns Inn.

It was about the 10th of *September*, that my Curiosity led, or rather drove me to go and see this Pit again, when there had been near 400 People buried in it; and I was not content to see it in the Day-time, as I had done before; for then there would have been nothing to have been seen but the loose Earth; for all the Bodies that were thrown in, were immediately covered with Earth, by those they call'd the Buryers, which at other Times were call'd Bearers; but I resolv'd to go in the Night and see some of them thrown in.

There was a strict Order to prevent People coming to those Pits, and that was only to prevent Infection: But after some Time, that Order was more

more neceſſary, for People that were Infected, and near their End, and diſtrious alſo, would run to thoſe Pits wrapt in Blankets, or Rugs, and throw themſelves in, and as they ſaid, bury themſelves: I cannot ſay, that the Officers ſuffered any willingly to lie there; but I have heard, that in a great Pit in *Finsbury*, in the Pariſh of *Cripplegate*, it lying open then to the Fields; for it was not then wall'd about, came and threw themſelves in, and expired there, before they threw any Earth upon them; and that when they came to bury others, and found them there, they were quite dead, tho' not cold.

This may ſerve a little to deſcribe the dreadful Condition of that Day, tho' it is impoſſible to ſay any Thing that is able to give a true Idea of it to thoſe who did not ſee it, other than this; that it was indeed *very, very, very* dreadful, and ſuch as no Tongue can expreſs.

I got Admittance into the Church-Yard by being acquainted with the Sexton, who attended, who tho' he did not refuſe me at all, yet earneſtly perſwaded me not to go; telling me very ſeriouſly, for he was a good religious and ſenſible Man, that it was indeed, their Buſineſs and Duty to venture, and to run all Hazards; and that in it they might hope to be preſerv'd; but that I had no apparent Call to it, but my own Curioſity, which he ſaid, he believ'd I would not pretend, was ſufficient to juſtify my running that Hazard. I told him I had been preſs'd in my Mind to go, and that perhaps it might be an Inſtructing Sight, that might not be without its Uſes. Nay, ſays the good Man, if you will venture upon that Score, '*Name of God go in*; for depend upon it, 'twill be a Sermon to you, it may be, the beſt that ever you heard in your Life. 'Tis a ſpeaking Sight, ſays he, and has a Voice with it, and a loud one, to call us all to Repentance; and with that he opened the Door and ſaid, Go, if you will.

Hi-

His Discourse had shock'd my Resolution a little, and I stood wavering for a good while; but just at that Interval I saw two Links come over from the End of the *Minories*, and heard the Bellman, and then appear'd a Dead-Cart, *as they call'd it*, coming over the Streets so I could no longer resist my Desire of seeing it, and went in: There was no Body, as I could perceive at first, in the Church-Yard, or going into it, but the Buryers, and the Fellow that drove the Cart, or rather led the Horse and Cart, but when they came up, to the Pit, they saw a Man go to and again, muffled up in a brown Cloak, and making Motions with his Hands, under his Cloak, as if he was in a great Agony; and the Buriers immediately gathered about him, supposing he was one of those poor dilirious, or desperate Creatures, that used to pretend, as I have said, to bury themselves; he said nothing as he walk'd about, but two or three times groaned very deeply, and loud, and sighed as he would break his Heart.

When the Buryers came up to him they soon found he was neither a Person infected and desperate, as I have observed above, or a Person distempered in Mind, but one oppress'd with a dreadful Weight of Grief indeed, having his Wife and several of his Children, all in the Cart, that was just come in with him, and he followed in an Agony and excess of Sorrow. He mourned heartily, as it was easy to see, but with a kind of Masculine Grief, that could not give it self Vent by Tears, and calmly desiring the Buriers to let him alone, said he would only see the Bodies thrown in, and go away, so they left importuning him; but no sooner was the Cart turned round, and the Bodies shot into the Pit promiscuously, which was a Surprize to him, for he at least expected they would have been decently laid in, tho' indeed he was afterwards con-

convinced that was impractible; I say, no sooner did he see the Sight, but he cry'd out aloud unable to contain himself; I could not hear what he said, but he went backward two or three Steps, and fell down in a Swoon: the Buryers ran to him and took him up, and in a little While he came to himself, and they led him away to the *Pye Tavern* over-against the End of *Houndsditch*, where, it seems, the Man was known, and where they took care of him. He look'd into the Pit again, as he went away, but the Buriers had covered the Bodies so immediately with throwing in Earth, that tho' there was Light enough, for there were Lantherns and Candles in them, plac'd all Night round the Sides of the Pit, upon the Heaps of Earth, seven or eight, or perhaps more, yet nothing could be seen.

This was a mournful Scene indeed, and affected me almost as much as the rest; but the other was awful, and full of Terror, the Cart had in it sixteen or seventeen Bodies, some were wrapt up in Linen Sheets, some in Rugs, some little other than naked, or so loose, that what Covering they had, fell from them, in the shooting out of the Cart, and they fell quite naked among the rest; but the Matter was not much to them, or the Indecency much to any one else, seeing they were all dead, and were to be huddled together into the common Grave of Mankind, as we may call it, for here was no Difference made, but Poor and Rich went together; there was no other way of Burials, neither was it possible there should, for Coffins were not to be had for the prodigious Numbers that fell in such a Calamity as this.

It was reported by way of Scandal upon the Buriers, that if any Corpse was delivered to them, decently wound up as we call'd it then, in a Winding Sheet Ty'd over the Head and Feet, which some

ſome did, and which was generally of good Linen; I ſay, it was reported, that the Buriers were ſo wicked as to ſtrip them in the Cart, and carry them quite naked to the Ground: But as I can not eaſily credit any thing ſo vile among Chriſtians, and at a Time ſo fill'd with Terrors, as that was, I can only relate it and leave it undetermined.

Innumerable Stories alſo went about of the cruel Behaviours and Practiſes of Nurſes, who tended the Sick, and of their haſtening on the Fate of thoſe they tended in their Sickneſs: But I ſhall ſay more of this in its Place.

I was indeed ſhock'd with this Sight, it almoſt overwhelm'd me, and I went away with my Heart moſt afflicted and full of the afflicting Thoughts, ſuch as I cannot deſcribe; juſt at my going out of the Church, and turning up the Street towards my own Houſe, I ſaw another Cart with Links, and a Bellman going before, coming out of *Harrow-Alley*, in the *Butcher-Row*, on the other Side of the Way, and being, as I perceived, very full of dead Bodies, it went directly over the Street alſo toward the Church: I ſtood a while, but I had no Stomach to go back again to ſee the ſame diſmal Scene over again, ſo I went directly Home, where I could not but conſider with Thankfulneſs, the Riſque I had run, believing I had gotten no Injury; as indeed I had not.

Here the poor unhappy Gentleman's Grief came into my head again, and indeed I could not but ſhed Tears in the Reflection upon it, perhaps more than he did himſelf; but his Caſe lay ſo heavy upon my Mind, that I could not prevail with myſelf, but that I muſt go out again into the Street, and go to the *Pye-Tavern*, reſolving to enquire what became of him.

It was by this Time one a-Clock in the Morning, and yet the poor Gentleman was there; the

Truth

Truth was, the People of the House knowing him, had entertain'd him, and kept him there all the Night, notwithstanding the Danger of being infected, by him, tho' it appear'd the Man was perfectly sound himself.

It is with Regret, that I take Notice of this Tavern; the People were civil, mannerly, and an obliging Sort of Folks enough, and had till this Time kept their House open, and their Trade going on, tho' not so very publickly as formerly; but there was a dreadful Set of Fellows that used their House, and who in the middle of all this Horror met there every Night, behaved with all the Revelling and roaring extravagances, as is usual for such People to do at other Times, and indeed to such an offensive Degree, that the very Master and Mistress of the House grew first asham'd and then terrify'd at them.

They sat generally, in a Room next the Street, and as they always kept late Hours, so when the Dead-Cart came cross the Street End to go into *Hounds-ditch*, which was in View of the Tavern Windows; they would frequently open the Windows as soon as they heard the Bell, and look out at them; and as they might often hear sad Lamentations of People in the Streets, or at their Windows, as the Carts went along, they would make their inpudent Mocks and Jeers at them, especially if they heard the poor People call upon God to have Mercy upon them, as many would do at those Times in their ordinary passing along the Streets.

These Gentlemen being something disturb'd with the Clutter of bringing the poor Gentleman into the House, as above, were first angry, and very high with the Master of the House, for suffering such a Fellow, as they call'd him, to be brought out of the Grave into their House; but being answered, that the Man was a Neighbour, and that

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he was found, but overwhelmed with the Calamity of his Family, and the like, they turned their Anger into ridiculing the Man, and his Sorrow for his Wife and Children; taunted him with want of Courage to leap into the great Pit, and go to Heaven, as they jeeringly expreſs'd it, along with them, adding ſome very profane, and even blaſphemous Expreſſions.

They were at this vile Work when I came back to the Houſe, and as far as I could ſee, tho' the Man ſat ſtill, mute and diſconſolate, and their Affronts could not divert his Sorrow, yet he was both griev'd and offended at their Diſcourſe: Upon this, I gently reprov'd them, being well enough acquainted with their Characters, and not unknown in Perſon to two of them.

They immediately fell upon me with ill Language and Oaths; ask'd me what I did out of my Grave, at ſuch a Time when ſo many *honeſter Men* were carried into the Church-Yard? and why I was not at Home ſaying my Prayers, againſt the Dead-Cart came for me? and the like.

I was indeed aſtoniſhed at the Impudence of the Men, tho' not at all diſcompoſed at their Treatment of me; however I kept my Temper; I told them, that tho' I defy'd them, or any Man in the World to tax me with any *Diſhoneſty*, yet I acknowledg'd, that in this terrible Judgment of God, many better than I was ſwept away, and carried to their Grave: But to anſwer their Queſtion directly, the Caſe was, that I was mercifully preſerved by that great God, whoſe Name they had Blaſphemed and taken in vain, by curſing and ſwearing in a dreadful Manner; and that I believed I was preſerv'd in particular, among other Ends, of his Goodneſs, that I might reprove them for their audacious Boldneſs, in behaving in ſucha Manner, and in ſuch an awful Time as this was, eſpecially, for

their

their Jeering and Mocking, at an honeſt Gentleman, and a Neighbour, for ſome of them knew him, who they ſaw was overwhelm'd with Sorrow, for the Breaches which it had pleas'd God to make upon his Family.

I cannot call exactly to Mind the helliſh abominable Rallery, which was the Return they made to that Talk of mine, being provoked, it ſeems, that I was not at all afraid to be free with them; nor if I could remember, would I fill my Account with any of the Words, the horrid Oaths, Curſes, and vile Expreſſions, ſuch, as at that time of the Day, even the worſt and ordinarieſt People in the Street would not uſe; (for except ſuch hardened Creatures as theſe, the moſt wicked wretches that could be found, had at that Time ſome Terror upon their Minds of the Hand of that Power which could thus, in a Moment deſtroy them.)

But that which was the worſt in all their deviliſh Language was, that they were not afraid to blaſpheme God, and talk Atheiſtically; making a Jeſt at my calling the Plague the Hand of God, mocking, and even laughing at the Word Judgment, as if the Providence of God had no Concern in the inflicting ſuch a deſolating Stroke; and that the People calling upon God, as they ſaw the Carts carrying away the dead Bodies was all enthuſiaſtick, abſurd, and impertinent.

I made them ſome Reply, ſuch as I thought proper, but which I found was ſo far from putting a Checque to their horrid Way of ſpeaking, that it made them rail the more, ſo that I confeſs it fill'd me with Horror, and a kind of Rage, and I came away, as I told them, leſt the Hand of that Judgment which had viſited the whole City ſhould glorify his Vengeance upon them, and all that were near them.

They received all Reproof with the utmoſt Contempt, and made the greateſt Mockery that was poſſible for them to do at me, giving me all the opprobrious inſolent Scoffs that they could think of for preaching to them, *as they call'd it*, which indeed, grieved me, rather than angred me; and I went away bleſſing God, however, in my Mind, that I had not ſpar'd them, tho' they had inſulted me ſo much.

They continued this wretched Courſe, three or four Day after this, continually mocking and jeering at all that ſhew'd themſelves religious, or ſerious, or that were any way touch'd with the Sence of the terrible Judgment of God upon us, and I was inform'd they flouted in the ſame Manner, at the good People, who, notwithſtanding the Contagion, met at the Church, faſted, and prayed to God to remove his Hand from them.

I ſay, they continued this dreadful Courſe three or four Days, *I think it was no more*, when one of them, particularly he who ask'd the poor Gentleman *what he did out of his Grave?* was ſtruck from Heaven with the Plague, and died in a moſt deplorable Manner; and in a Word they were every one of them carried into the great Pit, which I have mentioned above, before it was quite fill'd up, which was not above a Fortnight or thereabout.

Theſe Men were guilty of many extravagances, ſuch as one would think, Human Nature ſhould have trembled at the Thoughts of, at ſuch a Time of general Terror, as was then upon us; and particularly ſcoffing and mocking at every thing which they happened to ſee, that was religious among the People, eſpecially at their thronging zealouſly to the Place of publick Worſhip, to implore Mercy from Heaven in ſuch a Time of Diſtreſs; and this Tavern, where they held their Club, being within View of the Church Door, they had the more particular Occaſion for their Atheiſtical profane Mirth.

But

But this began to abate a little with them before the Accident, which I have related, happened; for the Infection increaſed ſo violently, at this Part of the Town now, that People began to be afraid to come to the Church, at leaſt ſuch Numbers did not reſort thither as was uſual; many of the Clergymen likewiſe were Dead, and others gone into the Country; for it really required a ſteady Courage, and a ſtrong Faith, for a Man not only to venture being in Town at ſuch a Time as this, but likewiſe to venture to come to Church and perform the Office of a Miniſter to a Congregation, of whom he had reaſon to believe many of them, were actually infected with the Plague, and to do this every Day, or twice a Day, as in ſome Places was done.

It is true, the People ſhew'd an extraordinary Zeal in theſe religious Exerciſes, and as the Church Doors were always open, People would go in ſingle at all Times, whether the Miniſter was officiating or no, and locking themſelves into ſeparate Pews, would be praying to God with great Fervency and Devotion.

Others aſſembled at Meeting-Houſes, every one as their different Opinions in ſuch Things guided, but all were promiſcuouſly the Subject of theſe Mens Drollery, eſpecially at the Beginning of the Viſitation.

It ſeems they had been check'd for their open inſulting Religion in this Manner, by ſeveral good People of every perſwaſion, and that, and the violent raging of the Infection, I ſuppoſe, was the Occaſion that they had abated much of their Rudeneſs, for ſome time before, and were only rous'd by the Spirit of Ribaldry, and Atheiſm, at the Clamour which was made, when the Gentleman was firſt brought in there, and perhaps, were agitated by the ſame Devil, when I took upon me to reprove them; tho' I did it at firſt with all the Calmneſs, Temper, and Good-Manners that I could, which, for a while, they inſulted me the more for, thinking it had been in fear of their Reſentment, tho' afterwards they found the contrary.

I went Home indeed, griev'd and afflicted in my Mind, at the Abominable Wickedneſs of thoſe Men not doubting, however, that they would be made dreadful Examples of God's Juſtice; for I look'd up this diſmal Time to be a particular Seaſon of Divine Vengeance, and that God would, on this Occaſion, ſingle out the proper Objects, of his Diſpleaſure, in a more eſpecial and remarkable Manner, than at another Time; and that, tho' I did believe that many good People would, and did, fall in the common Calamity, and that it was no certain Rule to judge of the eternal State of any one, by their being diſtinguiſh'd in ſuch a Time of general Deſtruction, neither one Way or other; yet I ſay, it could not but ſeem reaſonable to believe, that God would not think fit to ſpare by his Mercy ſuch open declared Enemies, that ſhould inſult his Name and Being, defy his Vengeance, and mock at his Worſhip and Worſhipers, at ſuch a Time, no not tho' his Mercy had thought fit to bear with, and ſpare them at other Times: That this was a Day of Viſitation; a Day of God's Anger; and thoſe Words came into my Thought. *Jer.* v. 9. *Shall I not viſit for theſe things, ſaith the Lord, and ſhall not my Soul be avenged of ſuch a Nation as this?*

Theſe Things, I ſay, lay upon my Mind; and I went home very much griev'd and oppreſs'd with the Horror of theſe Mens Wickedneſs, and to think that any thing could be ſo vile, ſo hardened, and ſo notoriouſly wicked, as to inſult God and his Servants, and his Worſhip, in ſuch a Manner, and at ſuch a Time as this was; when he had, as it were, his Sword drawn in his Hand, on purpoſe to take Vengeance, not on them only, but on the whole Nation.

I had indeed, been in ſome Paſſion, at firſt, with them, tho' it was really raiſed, not by any Affront they had offered me perſonally, but by the Horror their blaſpheming Tongues fill'd me with; however, I was doubtful in my Thoughts, whether the Reſentment I retain'd was not all upon my own private Account,

count, for they had given me a great deal of ill Language too, I mean Personally; but after some Pause, and having a Weight of Grief upon my Mind, I retir'd my self, as soon as I came home, for I slept not that Night, and giving God most humble Thanks for my Preservation in the eminent Danger I had been in, I set my Mind seriously, and with the utmost Earnestness, to pray for those desparate Wretches, that God would pardon them, open their Eyes, and effectually humble them.

By this I not only did my Duty, namely, to pray for those who dispitefully used me, but I fully try'd my own Heart, to my full Satisfaction; that it was not fill'd with any Spirit of Resentment as they had offended me in particular; and I humbly recommend the Method to all those that would know, or be certain, how to distinguish between their real Zeal for the Honour of God, and the Effects of their private Passions and Resentment.

But I must go back here to the particular Incidents which occur to my Thoughts of the Time of the Visitation, and particularly, to the Time of their shutting up Houses, in the first Part of the Sickness; for before the Sickness was come to its Height, People had more Room to make their Observations, than they had afterward: But when it was in the Extremity, there was no such Thing as Communication with one another, as before.

During the shutting up of Houses, as I have said, some Violence was offered to the Watchmen; as to Soldiers, there were none to be found; the few Guards which the King then had, which were nothing like the Number, entertain'd since, were dispers'd, either at *Oxford* with the Court, or in Quarters in the remoter Parts of the Country; small detatchments excepted, who did Duty at the Tower, and at *White-Hall*, and these but very few; neither am I positive, that there was any other Guard at the Tower, than the *Warders*, as they call'd them, who stand at the

Gate with Gowns and Caps, the same as the Yeomen of the Guard; except the ordinary Gunners, who were 24, and the Officers appointed to look after the Magazine, who were call'd Armourers: as to Traind-Bands, there was no Possibility of raising any, neither if the Lieutenancy, either of *London* or *Middlesex* had ordered the Drums to beat for the Militia, would any of the Companies, I believe, have drawn together, whatever Risque they had run.

This made the Watchmen be the less regarded, and perhaps, occasioned the greater Violence to be used against them; I mention it on this Score, to observe that the setting Watchmen thus to keep the People in, was (1st) of all, not effectual, but that the People broke out, whether by Force or by Stratagem, even almost as often as they pleas'd: And (2d) that those that did thus break out, were generally People infected, who in their Desperation, running about from one Place to another, valued not who they injur'd, and which perhaps, as I have said, might give Birth to Report, that it was natural to the infected People to desire to infect others, which Report was really false.

And I know it so well, and in so many several Cases, that I could give several Relations of good, pious, and religious People, who, when they have had the Distemper, have been so far from being forward to infect others, that they have forbid their own Family to come near them, in Hopes of their being preserved; and have even died without seeing their nearest Relations, lest they should be instrumental to give them the Distemper, and infect or endanger them: If then there were Cases wherein the infected People were careless of the Injury they did to others, this was certainly one of them, if not the chief, namely, when People, who had the Distemper, had broken out from Houses which were so shut up, and having been driven to Extremities for Provision, or for Entertainment, had endeavoured to conceal their Condition, and have been thereby Instrumental involuntarily to infect others who have been ignorant and unwary.

This

This is one of the Reasons why I believed them, and do believe still, that the shutting up Houses thus by Force, and restraining, or rather imprisoning People in their own Houses, as is said above, was of little or no Service in the Whole; nay, I am of Opinion, it was rather hurtful, having forc'd those desperate People to wander abroad with the Plague upon them, who would otherwise have died quietly in their Beds.

I remember one Citizen, who having thus broken out of his House in *Alderſgate-Street*, or thereabout, went along the Road to *Iſlington*, he attempted to have gone in at the *Angel-Inn*, and after that, at the *White-Horſe*, two Inns known still by the same Signs, but was refused; after which he came to the *Pyed Bull*, an Inn also still continuing the same Sign; he asked them for Lodging for one Night only, pretending to be going into *Lincolnſhire*, and assuring them of his being very sound, and free from the Infection, which also, at that Time, had not reached much that Way.

They told him they had no Lodging that they could spare, but one Bed, up in the Garret, and that they could spare that Bed but for one Night, some Drovers being expected the next Day with Cattle; so, if he would accept of that Lodging, he might have it, which he did; so a Servant was sent up with a Candle with him, to shew him the Room; he was very well dress'd, and look'd like a Person not used to lie in a Garret, and when he came to the Room he fech'd a deep Sigh, and said to the Servant, I have seldom lain in such a Lodging as this; however the Servant assuring him again, that they had no better. Well, says he, I must make shift; this is a dreadful Time, but it is but for one Night; so he sat down upon the Bedside, and bad the maid, *I think it was*, fetch him up a Pint of warm Ale; accordingly the Servant went for the Ale; but some Hurry in the House, which perhaps, employed her otherways, put it out of her Head; and she went up no more to him.

The next Morning seeing no Appearance of the Gentleman, some Body in the House asked the Servant that had shewed him up Stairs, what was become of him? She started; Alas says she, I never thought more of him: He bad me carry him some warm Ale, but I forgot; upon which, not the Maid, but some other Person, was sent up to see after him, who coming into the Room found him stark dead, and almost cold, stretch'd out cross the Bed; his Cloths were pulled off, his Jaw fallen, his Eyes open in a most frightful Posture, the Rug of the Bed being grasped hard in one of his Hands; so that it was plain he died soon after the Maid left him, and 'tis probable, had she gone up with the Ale, she had found him dead in a few Minutes after he sat down upon the Bed. The Alarm was great in the House, as any one may suppose, they having been free from the Distemper, till that Diaster, which bringing the Infection to the House, spread it immediately to other Houses round about it. I do not remember how many died in the House it self, but I think the Maid Servant, who went up first with him, fell presently ill by the Fright, and several others; for whereas there died but two in *Islington* of the Plague the Week before, there died 17 the Week after, whereof 14 were of the Plague; this was in the Week from the 11th of *July* to the 18th.

There was one Shift that some Families had, and that not a few, when their Houses happened to be infected, *and that was this*; The Families, who in the first breaking out of the Distemper, fled away into the Country, and had Retreats among their Friends, generally found some or other of their Neighbours or Relations to commit the Charge of those Houses to, for the Safety of the Goods, and the like. Some Houses were indeed, entirely lock'd up, the Doors padlockt, the Windows and Doors having Deal-Boards nail'd over them, and only the Inspection of them committed to the ordinary Watchmen and Parish Officers; but these were but few. It

It was thought that there were not leſs than 10000 Houſes forſaken of the Inhabitants in the City and Suburbs, including what was in the Out Pariſhes, and in Surrey, or the Side of the Water they call'd *Southwark*. This was beſides the Numbers of Lodgers, and of particular Perſons who were fled out of other Families; ſo that in all it was computed that about 200000 People were fled and gone in all: But of this I ſhall ſpeak again: But I mention it here on this Account, namely, that it was a Rule with thoſe who had thus two Houſes in their Keeping, or Care, that if any Body was taken ſick in a Family, before the Maſter of the Family let the Examiners, or any other Officer, know of it, he immediately would ſend all the reſt of his Family whether Children or Servants, as it fell out to be, to ſuch other Houſe which he had ſo in Charge, and then giving Notice of the ſick Perſon to the Examiner, have a Nurſe, or Nurſes appointed; and have another Perſon to be ſhut up in the Houſe with them (which many for Money would do) ſo to take Charge of the Houſe, in caſe the Perſon ſhould die.

This was in many Caſes the ſaving a whole Family, who, if they had been ſhut up with the ſick Perſon, would inevitably have periſhed: But on the other Hand, this was another of the Inconveniencies of ſhutting up Houſes; for the Apprehenſions and Terror of being ſhut up, made many run away with the reſt of the Family, who, tho' it was not publickly known, and they were not quite ſick, had yet the Diſtemper upon them; and who by having an uninterrupted Liberty to go about, but being obliged ſtill to conceal their Circumſtances, or perhaps not knowing it themſelves, gave the Diſtemper to others, and ſpread the Infection in a dreadful Manner, as I ſhall explain farther hereafter.

And here I may be able to make an Obſervation or two of my own, which may be of uſe hereafter to thoſe, into whoſe Hands this may come, if they ſhould ever ſee the like dreadful Viſitation. (1.) The

Infection generally came into the Houſes of the Citizens, by the Means of their Servants, who, they were obliged to ſend up and down the Streets for Neceſſaries, that is to ſay, for Food, or Phyſick, to Bake-houſes, Brew-houſes, Shops, *&c.* and who going neceſſarily thro' the Streets into Shops, Markets, and the like, it was impoſſible, but that they ſhould one way or other, meet with diſtempered people, who conveyed the fatal Breath into them, and they brought it Home to the Families, to which they belonged.

(2.) It was a great Miſtake, that ſuch a great City as this had but one Peſt-Houſe; for had there been, inſtead of one Peſt-Houſe *viz.* beyond *Bunhil-Fields*, where, at moſt, they could receive, perhaps, 200 or 300 People; I ſay, had there inſtead of that one been ſeveral Peſt-houſes, every one able to contain a thouſand People without lying two in a Bed, or two Beds in a Room; and had every Maſter of a Family, as ſoon as any Servant eſpecially, had been taken ſick in his Houſe, been obliged to ſend them to the next Peſt-Houſe, if they were willing, as many were, and had the Examiners done the like among the poor People, when any had been ſtricken with the Infection; I ſay, had this been done where the People were willing, (not otherwiſe) and the Houſes not been ſhut, I am perſwaded, and was all the While of that Opinion, that not ſo many, by ſeveral Thouſands, had died; for it was obſerved, and I could give ſeveral Inſtances within the Compaſs of my own Knowledge, where a Servant had been taken ſick, and the Family had either Time to ſend them out, or retire from the Houſe, and leave the ſick Perſon, *as I have ſaid above*, they had all been preſerved; whereas, when upon one, or more, ſickning in a Family, the Houſe has been ſhut up, the whole Family have periſhed, and the Bearers been oblig'd to go in to fetch out the Dead Bodies, none being able to bring them to the Door; and at laſt none left to do it.

(2.) This put it out of Queſtion to me, that the Cala-

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mity was ſpread by Infection, that is to ſay, by ſome certain Steams, or Fumes, which the Phyſicians call *Effluvia*, by the Breath, or by the Sweat, or by the Stench of the Sores of the ſick Perſons, or ſome other way, perhaps, beyond even the Reach of the Phyſicians themſelves, which *Effluvia* affected the Sound, who come within certain Diſtances of the Sick, immediately penetrating the Vital Parts of the ſaid ſound Perſons, putting their Blood into an immediate ferment, and agitating their Spirits to that Degree which it was found they were agitated; and ſo thoſe newly infected Perſons communicated it in the ſame Manner to others; and this I ſhall give ſome Inſtances of, that cannot but convince thoſe who ſeriouſly conſider it; and I cannot but with ſome Wonder, find ſome People, now the Contagion is over, talk of its being an immediate Stroke from Heaven, without the Agency of Means, having Commiſſion to ſtrike this and that particular Perſon, and none other; which I look upon with Contempt, as the Effect of manifeſt Ignorance and Enthuſiaſim; likewiſe the Opinion of others, who talk of infection being carried on by the Air only, by carrying with it vaſt Numbers of Inſects, and inviſible Creatures, who enter into the Body with the Breath, or even at the Pores with the Air, and there generate, or emit moſt accute Poiſons, or poiſonous Ovæ, or Eggs, which mingle themſelves with the Blood, and ſo infect the Body; a Diſcourſe full of learned Simplicity, and manifeſted to be ſo by univerſal Experience; but I ſhall ſay more to this Caſe in its Order.

I muſt here take farther Notice that Nothing was more fatal to the Inhabitants of this City, than the Supine Negligence of the People themſelves, who during the long Notice, or Warning they had of the Viſitation, yet made no Proviſion for it, by laying in Store of Proviſions, or of other Neceſſaries; by which they might have liv'd retir'd, and within their own Houſes, as I have obſerved, others did,

and

and who were in a great Measure preserv'd by that Caution; nor were they, after they were a little hardened to it so shye of conversing with one another, when actually infected, as they were at first, no tho' they knew it.

I acknowledge I was one of those thoughtless Ones, that had made so little Provision, that my Servants were obliged to go out of Doors to buy every Trifle by Penny and Half-penny, just as before it begun, even till my Experience shewing me the Folly, I began to be wiser so late, that I had scarce Time to store my self sufficient for our common Subsistence for a Month.

I had in Family only an antient Woman, that managed the House, a Maid-Servant, two Apprentices, and my self; and the Plague beginning to encrease about us, I had many sad Thoughts about what Course I should take, and how I should act; the many dismal Objects, which happened everywhere as I went about the Streets, had fill'd my Mind with a great deal of Horror, for fear of the Distemper it self, which was indeed, very horrible in it self, and in some more than in others, the swellings which were generally in the Neck, or Groin, when they grew hard, and would not break, grew so painful, that it was equal to the most exquisite Torture; and some not able to bear the Torment, threw themselves out at Windows, or shot themselves, or otherwise made themselves away, and I saw several dismal Objects of that Kind: Others unable to contain themselves, vented their Pain by incessant Roarings, and such loud and lamentable Cries were to be heard as we walk'd along the Streets, that would Pierce the very Heart to think of, especially when it was to be considered, that the same dreadful Scourge might be expected every Moment to seize upon our selves.

I cannot say, but that now I began to faint in in my Resolutions, my Heart fail'd me very much,

and

and sorely I repented of my Rashness: When I had been out, and met with such terrible Things as these I have talked of; I say, I repented my Rashness in venturing to abide in Town: I wish'd often, that I had not taken upon me to stay, but had gone away with my Brother and his Family.

Terrified by those frightful Objects, I would retire Home sometimes, and resolve to go out no more, and perhaps, I would keep those Resolutions for three or four Days, which Time I spent in the most serious Thankfulness for my Preservation, and the Preservation of my Family, and the constant Confession of my Sins, giving my self up to God every Day, and applying to him with Fasting, Humiliation, and Meditation: Such intervals as I had, I employed in reading Books, and in writing down my Memorandums of what occurred to me every Day, and out of which, afterwards, I for most of this Work as it relates to my Observations without Doors: What I wrote of my private Meditations I reserve for private Use, and desire it may not be made publick on any Account whatever.

I also wrote other Meditations upon Divine Subjects, such as occurred to me at that Time, and were profitable to my self, but not fit for any other View, and therefore I say no more of that.

I had a very good Friend, a Physician, whose Name was *Heath*, who I frequently visited during this dismal Time, and to whose Advice I was very much oblig'd for many Things which he directed me to take, by way of preventing the Infection when I went out, as he found I frequently did, and to hold in my Mouth when I was in the Streets; he also came very often to see me, and as he was a good Christian, as well as a good Physician, his agreeable Conversation was a very great Support to me in the worst of this terribe Time.

It was now the Beginning of *August*, and the Plague grew very violent and terrible in the Place

where

where I liv'd, and Dr. *Heath* coming to visit me, and finding that I ventured so often out in the Streets, earnestly perswaded me to lock my self up and my Family, and not to suffer any of us to go out of Doors; to keep all our Windows fast, Shutters and Curtains close, and never to open them; but first to make a very strong Smoke in the Room, where the Window, or Door was to be opened, with Rozen and Pitch, Brimstone, or Gunpowder, and the like; and we did this for some Time: But as I had not laid in a Store of Provision for such a retreat, it was impossible that we could keep within Doors entirely; however, I attempted, tho' it was so very late, to do something towards it; and first, as I had Convenience both for Brewing and Baking, I went and bought two Sacks of Meal, and for several Weeks, having an Oven, we baked all our own Bread; also I bought Malt, and brew'd as much Beer as all the Casks I had would hold, and which seem'd enough to serve my House for five or six Weeks; also I laid in a Quantity of Salt-butter and *Cheshire* Cheese; but I had no Flesh-meat, and the Plague raged so violently among the Butchers, and Slaughter-Houses, on the other Side of our Street, where they are known to dwell in great Numbers, that it was not advisable, so much as to go over the Street among them.

And here I must observe again, that this Necessity of going out of our Houses to buy Provisions, was in a great Measure the Ruin of the whole City, for the People catch'd the Distemper, on those Occasions, one of another, and even the Provisions themselves were often tainted, at least I have great Reason to believe so; and therefore I cannot say with Satisfaction what I know is repeated with great Assurance, that the Market People, and such as brought Provisions, to Town, were never infected: I am certain, the Butchers of *White-Chapel* where the greatest Part of the Flesh-meat was killed, were dreadfully visited, and that at last to such a Degree, that few

of

of their Shops were kept open, and those that remain'd of them, kill'd their Meat at *Mile-End*, and that Way, and brought it to Market upon Horses.

However, the poor People cou'd not lay up Provisions, and there was a necessity, that they must go to Market to buy, and others to send Servants or their Children; and as this was a Necessity which renew'd it self daily; it brought abundance of unsound People to the Markets, and a great many that went thither Sound, brought Death Home with them.

It is true, People us'd all possible Precaution, when any one bought a Joint of Meat in the Market, they would not take it of the Butchers Hand, but take it off of the Hooks themselves. On the other Hand, the Butcher would not touch the Money, but have it put into a Pot full of Vinegar which he kept for that purpose. The Buyer carry'd always small Money to make up any odd Sum, that they might take no Change. They carry'd Bottles for Scents, and Perfumes in their Hands, and all the Means that could be us'd, were us'd: But then the Poor cou'd not do even these things, and they went at all Hazards.

Innumerable dismal Stories we heard every Day on this very Account: Sometimes a Man or Woman dropt down Dead in the very Markets; for many People that had the Plague upon them, knew nothing of it; till the inward Gangreen had affected their Vitals and they dy'd in a few Moments; this caus'd, that many died frequently in that Manner in the Streets suddainly, without any warning: Others perhaps had Time to go to the next Bulk or Stall; or to any Door, Porch, and just sit down and die, as I have said before.

These Objects were so frequent in the Streets, that when the Plague came to be very raging, On one Side, there was scarce any passing by the Streets, but that several dead Bodies would be lying here and

and there upon the Ground; on the other hand it is observable, that tho' at first, the People would stop as they went along, and call to the Neighbours to come out on such an Occasion; yet, afterward, no Notice was taken of them; but that, if at any Time we found a Corps lying, go cross the Way, and not come near it; or if in a narrow Lane or Passage, go back again, and seek some other Way to go on the Business we were upon; and in those Cases, the Corps was always left, till the Officers had notice, to come and take them away; or till Night, when the Bearers attending the Dead-Cart would take them up, and carry them away: Nor did those undaunted Creatures, who performed these Offices, fail to search their Pockets, and sometimes strip off their Cloths, if they were well dress't, as sometimes they were, and carry off what they could get.

But to return to the Markets; the Butchers took that Care, that if any Person dy'd in the Market, they had the Officers always at Hand, to take them up upon Hand-barrows, and carry them to the next Church-Yard; and this was so frequent that such were not entred in the weekly Bill, found Dead in the Streets or Fields, as is the Case now; but they went into the general Articles of the great Distemper.

But now the Fury of the Distemper encreased to such a Degree, that even the Markets were but very thinly furnished with Provisions, or frequented with Buyers, compair'd to what they were before; and the Lord-Mayor caused the Country-People who brought Provisions, to be stop'd in the Streets leading into the Town, and to sit down there with their Goods, where they sold what they brought, and went immediately away; and this Encourag'd the Country People greatly to do so, for they sold their Provisions at the very Entrances into the Town, and even in the Fields; as particularly in the Fields beyond *White-Chappel*, in *Spittle-fields*. Note, *Those Streets now called* Spittle-Fields, *were then indeed open Fields;*

Fields: Alſo in St. *George's-fields* in *Southwork*, in *Bun-Hill* Fields, and in a great Field, call'd *Wood's-Cloſe* near *Iſlington*; thither the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Magiſtrates, ſent their Officers and Servants to buy for their Families, themſelves keeping within Doors as much as poſſible; and the like did many other People; and after this Method was taken, the Country People came with great chearfulneſs, and brought Proviſions of all Sorts, and very ſeldom got any harm; which I ſuppoſe, added alſo to that Report of their being Miraculouſly preſerv'd.

As for my little Family, having thus as I have ſaid, laid in a Store of Bread, Butter, Cheeſe, and Beer, I took my Friend and Phyſician's Advice, and lock'd my ſelf up, and my Family, and reſolv'd to ſuffer the hardſhip of Living a few Mouths without Fleſh-Meat, rather than to purchaſe it at the hazard of our Lives.

But tho' I confin'd my Family, I could not prevail upon my unſatisfy'd Curioſity to ſtay within entirely my ſelf; and tho' I generally came frighted and terrified Home, yet I cou'd not reſtrain; only that indeed, I did not do it ſo frequently as at firſt.

I had ſome little Obligations indeed upon me, to go to my Brothers Houſe, which was in *Coleman's-ſtreet* Pariſh, and which he had left to my Care, and I went at firſt every Day, but afterwards only once, or twice a Week.

In theſe Walks I had many diſmal Scenes before my Eyes, as particularly of Perſons falling dead in the Streets, terrible Shrieks and Skreekings of Women, who in their Agonies would throw open their Chamber Windows, and cry out in a diſmal Surpriſing Manner; it is impoſſible to deſcribe the Variety of Poſtures, in which the Paſſions of the Poor People would Expreſs themſelves.

Paſſing thro' *Token-Houſe-Yard* in *Lothbury*, of a ſudden a Caſement violently opened juſt over my Head, and a Woman gave three frightful Skreetches, and

and then cry'd, *Oh! Death, Death, Death!* in a most inimitable Tone, and which struck me with Horror and a Chilness, in my very Blood. There was no Body to be seen in the whole Street, neither did any other Window open; for People had no Curiosity now in any Case; nor could any Body help one another; so I went on to pass into *Bell-Alley*.

Just in *Bell-Alley*, on the right Hand of the Passage, there was a more terrible Cry than that, tho' it was not so directed out at the Window, but the whole Family was in a terrible Fright, and I could hear Women and Children run skreaming about the Rooms like distracted, when a Garret Window opened, and some body from a Window on the other Side the Alley, call'd and ask'd, *What is the Matter?* upon which, from the first Window it was answered, *O Lord, my Old Master has hang'd himself!* The other ask'd again, *Is he quite dead?* and the first answer'd, *Ay, ay, quite dead; quite dead and cold!* This Person was a Merchant, and a Deputy Alderman, and very rich. I care not to mention the Name, tho' I knew his Name too, but that would be an Hardship to the Family, which is now flourishing again.

But, this is but one; it is scarce credible what dreadful Cases happened in particular Families every Day; People in the Rage of the Distemper, or in the Torment of their Swellings, which was indeed intollerable, running out of their own Government, raving and distracted, and oftentimes laying violent Hands upon themselves, throwing themselves out at their Windows, shooting themselves, *&c.* Mothers murthering their own Children, in their Lunacy, some dying of meer Grief, as a Passion, some of meer Fright and Surprize, without any Infection at all; others frighted into Idiotism, and fooliſh Distractions, some into dispair and Lunacy; others into mellancholy Madness.

The Pain of the Swelling was in particular very violent, and to some intollerable; the Physicians and

and Surgeons may be ſaid to have tortured many poor Creatures, even to Death. The Swellings in ſome grew hard, and they apply'd violent drawing Plaſters, or Pultices, to break them; and if theſe did not do, they cut and ſcarified them in a terrible Manner: In ſome, thoſe Swellings were made hard, partly by the Force of the Diſtemper, and partly by their being too violently drawn, and were ſo hard, that no Inſtrument could cut them, and then they burnt them with Cauſticks, ſo that many died raving mad with the Torment; and ſome in the very Operation. In theſe Diſtreſſes, ſome for want of Help to hold them down in their Beds, or to look to them, laid Hands upon themſelves, as above. Some broke out into the Streets, perhaps naked, and would run directly down to the River, if they were not ſtopt by the Watchmen, or other Officers, and plunge themſelves into the Water, wherever they found it.

It often pierc'd my very Soul to hear the Groans and Crys of thoſe who were thus tormented, but of the Two, this was counted the moſt promiſing Particular in the whole Infection; for, if theſe Swellings could be brought to a Head, and to break and run, or as the Surgeons call it, to digeſt, the Patient generally recover'd; whereas thoſe, who like the Gentlewoman's Daughter, were ſtruck with Death at the Beginning, and had the Tokens come out upon them, often went about indifferent eaſy, till a little before they died, and ſome till the Moment they dropt down, as in Appoplexies and Epelepſies, is often the Caſe; ſuch would be taken ſuddenly very ſick, and would run to a Bench or Bulk, or any convenient Place that offer'd it ſelf, or to their own Houſes, if poſſible, *as I mentioned before*, and there ſit down, grow faint and die. This kind of dying was much the ſame, as it was with thoſe who die of common Mortifications, who die ſwooning, and as it were, go away in a Dream; ſuch as died thus, had

very little Notice of their being infected at all, till the Gangreen was ſpread thro' their whole Body; nor could Phyſicians themſelves, know certainly how it was with them, till they opened their Breaſts, or other Parts of their Body, and ſaw the Tokens.

We had at this Time a great many frightful Stories told us of Nurſes and Watchmen, who looked after the dying People, *that is to ſay*, hir'd Nurſes, who attended infected People, uſing them barbarouſly, ſtarving them, ſmothering them, or by other wicked Means, haſtening their End, *that is to ſay*, murthering of them: And Watchmen being ſet to guard Houſes that were ſhut up, when there has been but one perſon left, and perhaps, that one lying ſick, that they have broke in and murthered that Body, and immediately thrown them out into the Dead-Cart! and ſo they have gone ſcarce cold to the Grave.

I cannot ſay, but that ſome ſuch Murthers were committed, and I think two were ſent to Priſon for it, but died before they could be try'd; and I have heard that three others, at ſeveral Times, were excuſed for Murthers of that kind; but I muſt ſay I believe nothing of its being ſo common a Crime, as ſome have ſince been pleas'd to ſay, nor did it ſeem to be ſo rational, where the People were brought ſo low as not to be able to help themſelves, for ſuch ſeldom recovered, and there was no Temptation to commit a Murder, at leaſt, none equal to the Fact where they were ſure Perſons would die in ſo ſhort a Time; and could not live.

That there were a great many Robberies and wicked Practiſes committed even in this dreadful Time I do not deny; the Power of Avarice was ſo ſtrong in ſome, that they would run any Hazard to ſteal and to plunder, and particularly in Houſes where all the Families, or Inhabitants have been dead, and carried out, they would break in at all Hazards, and without Regard to the Danger of Infection,

fection, take even the Cloths off, of the dead Bodies, and the Bed-cloaths from others where they lay dead.

This, *I suppose*, must be the Case of a Family in *Houndsditch*, where a Man and his Daughter, *the rest of the Family being, as I suppose, carried away before by the Dead-Cart*, were found stark naked, one in one Chamber, and one in another, lying Dead on the Floor; and the Cloths of the Beds, from whence, tis supposed they were roll'd off by Thieves, stoln, and carried quite away.

It is indeed to be observ'd, that the Women were in all this Calamity, the most rash, fearless, and desperate Creatures; and as there were vast Numbers that went about as Nurses, to tend those that were sick, they committed a great many petty Thieveries in the Houses where they were employed; and some of them were publickly whipt for it, when perhaps, they ought rather to have been hanged for Examples; for Numbers of Houses were robbed on these Occasions, till at length, the Parish Officers were sent to recommend Nurses to the Sick, and always took an Account who it was they sent, so as that they might call them to account, if the House had been abused where they were placed.

But these Robberies extended chiefly to Wearing-Cloths, Linen, and what Rings, or Money they could come at, when the Person dyed who was under their Care, but not to a general Plunder of the Houses; and I could give an Account of one of these Nurses, who several Years after, being on her Death-bed, confest with the utmost Horror, the Robberries she had committed at the Time of her being a Nurse, and by which she had enriched her self to a great Degree: But as for murthers, I do not find that there was ever any Proof of the Facts, in the manner, as it has been reported, *except as above.*

They did tell me indeed of a Nurse in one place, that laid a wet Cloth upon the Face of a dying Patient, who she tended, and so put an End

to his Life, who was just expiring before: And another that smother'd a young Woman she was looking to, when she was in a fainting fit, and would have come to her self: Some that kill'd them by giving them one Thing, some another, and some starved them by giving them nothing at all: But these Stories had two Marks of Suspicion that always attended them, which caused me always to slight them, and to look on them as meer Stories, that People continually frighted one another with. (1.) That wherever it was that we heard it, they always placed the Scene at the farther End of the Town, opposite, or most remote from where you were to hear it: If you heard it in *White-Chapel*, it had happened at St. *Giles*'s, or at *Westminster*, or *Holborn*, or that End of the Town; if you heard of it at that End of the Town, then it was done in *White-Chapel*, or the *Minories*, or about *Cripplegate* Parish: If you heard of it in the City, why, then it had happened in *Southwark*; and if you heard of it in *Southwark*, then it was done in the City, and the like.

In the next Place, of what Part soever you heard the Story, the Particulars were always the same, especially that of laying a wet double Clout on a dying Man's Face, and that of smothering a young Gentlewoman; so that it was apparent, at least to my Judgment, that there was more of Tale than of Truth in those Things.

However, I cannot say, but it had some Effect upon the People, and particularly that, *as I said before*, they grew more cautious who they took into their Houses, and who they trusted their Lives with; and had them always recommended, if they could; and where they could not find such, for they were not very plenty, they applied to the Parish Officers.

But here again, the Misery of that Time lay upon the Poor, who being infected, had neither Food or Physick; neither Physician or Appothecary to assist them

them, or Nurſe to attend them: Many of thoſe died calling for help, and even for Suſtenance out at their Windows, in a moſt miſerable and deplorable manner; but it muſt be added, that when ever the Caſes of ſuch Perſons or Families, were repreſented to my Lord-Mayor, they always were reliev'd.

It is true, in ſome Houſes where the People were not very poor; yet, where they had ſent perhaps their Wives and Children away; and if they had any Servants, they had been diſmiſt; *I ſay it is true, that* to ſave the Expences, many ſuch as theſe ſhut themſelves in, and not having Help, dy'd alone.

A Neighbour and Acquaintance of mine, having ſome Money owing to him from a Shopkeeper in *White Croſs ſtreet*, or there abouts, ſent his Apprentice, a youth about 18 Years of Age, to endeavour to get the Money: He came to the Door, and finding it ſhut, knockt pretty hard, and as he thought, heard ſome Body anſwer within, but was not ſure, So he waited, and after ſome ſtay knockt again, and then a third Time, when he heard ſome Body coming down Stairs.

At length the Man of the Houſe came to the Door; he had on his Breeches or Drawers, and a yellow Flannel Waſtcoat; no Stockings, a pair of Slipt-Shoes, a white Cap on his head; and as the young Man ſaid, Death in his Face.

When he open'd the Door, ſays he, *what do you diſturb me thus for?* the Boy, tho' a little ſurpriz'd, reply'd, *I come from ſuch a one, and my Maſter ſent me for the Money, which he ſays you know of: Very well Child*, returns the living Ghoſt, *call as you go by at* Cripplegate *Church, and bid them ring the Bell*, and with thoſe Words, ſhut the Door again, and went up again and Dy'd, The ſame Day; nay, perhaps the ſame Hour. This, the young Man told me himſelf, and I have Reaſon to believe it. This was while the Plague was not come to a Height: I think it was in *June*; Towards the latter End of the Month,

it must be before the Dead Carts came about, and while they used the Ceremony of Ringing the Bell for the Dead, which was over for certain, in that Parish at least, before the Month of *July*; for by the 25*th* of *July*, there died 550 and upward in a Week, and then they cou'd no more bury in Form, Rich or Poor.

I have mention'd above, that notwithstanding this dreadful Calamity; yet the Numbers of Thieves were abroad upon all Occasions, where they had found any Prey; and that these were generally Women. It was one Morning about 11 a Clock, I had walk'd out to my Brothers House in *Coleman's-street* Parish, as I often did, to see that all was Safe.

My Brother's House had a little Court before it, and a Brick-Wall with a Gate in it; and within that, several Ware-houses, where his Goods of several Sorts lay: It happen'd, that in one of these Ware-houses, were several Packs of Womens high-Crown'd Hats, which came out of the Country; and were, as I suppose, for Exportation; whither I know not.

I was surpriz'd that when I came near my Brother's Door, which was in a Place they call'd *Swan-Alley*, I met three or four Women with High-crown'd Hats on their Heads; and as I remembred afterwards, one, if not more, had some Hats likewise in their Hands: but as I did not see them come out at my Brother's Door, and not knowing that my Brother had any such Goods in his Ware-house, I did not offer to say any Thing to them, but went cross the Way to shun meeting them, as was usual to do at that Time, for fear of the Plague. But when I came nearer to the Gate, I met another Woman with more Hats come out of the Gate. *What Business Mistress*, said I, *have you had there?* There are more People there, said she, I have had no more Business there than they. I was hasty to get to the Gate then, and said no more to her; by which means she

got

got away. But just as I came to the Gate, I saw two more coming cross the Yard to come out with Hats also on their Heads, and under their Arms; at which I threw the Gate too behind me, which having a Spring Lock fastened it self; and turning to the Women, forsooth said I, what are ye *doing here?* and seiz'd upon the Hats, and took them from them. One of them, who I confess, did not look like a Thief. Indeed says she, we are wrong; but we were told, they were Goods that had no Owner; be pleas'd to take them again, and look yonder, there are more such Customers as we: She cry'd and look'd pitifully; so I took the Hats from her, and opened the Gate, and bad them be gone, for I pity'd the Women indeed; But when I look'd towards the Ware-house, as she directed, there were six or seven more all, Women, fitting themselves with Hats, as unconcerned and quiet, as if they had been at a Hatters Shop, buying for their Money.

I was surpriz'd, not at the Sight of so many Thieves only, but at the Circumstances I was in; being now to thrust my self in among so many People, who for some Weeks, had been so shye of my self, that if I met any Body in the Street, I would cross the Way from them.

They were equally surpriz'd, tho' on another Account: They all told me, they were Neighbours, that they had heard any one might take them, that they were no Bodies Goods, and the like. I talk't big to them at first; went back to the Gate, and took out the Key; so that they were all my Prisoners; threaten'd to Lock them all into the Ware-house, and go and fetch my Lord Mayor's Officers for them,

They beg'd heartily, protested they found the Gate open, and the Ware-house Door open; and that it had no doubt been broken open by some, who expected to find Goods of greater Value;

which indeed, was reasonable to believe, because the Lock was broke, and a Padlock that hung to the Door on the out-side also loose; and not abundance of the Hats carry'd away.

At length I consider'd, that this was not a Time to be Cruel and Rigorous; and besides that, it would necessarily oblige me to go much about, to have several People come to me, and I go to several, whose Circumstances of Health, I knew nothing of; and that even, at this Time the Plague was so high, as that there dy'd 4000 a Week; so that in showing my Resentment, or even in seeking Justice for my Brother's Goods, I might lose my own Life; so I contented my self, with taking the Names and Places where some of them lived, who were really Inhabitants in the Neighbourhood; and threatning that my Brother should call them to an Account for it, when he return'd to his Habitation.

Then I talk'd a little upon another Foot with them; and ask'd them how they could do such Things as these, in a Time of such general Calamity; and as it were, in the Face of Gods most dreadful Judgments, when the Plague was at their very Doors; and it may be in their very Houses; and they did not know, but that the Dead-Cart might stop at their Doors in a few Hours, to carry them to their Graves.

I cou'd not perceive that my Discourse made much Impression upon them all that while; till it happened, that there came two Men of the Neighbourhood, hearing of the Disturbance, and knowing my Brother, for they had been both dependants upon his Family, and they came to my Assistance: These being as I said Neighbours, presently knew three of the Women, and told me who they were, and where they liv'd; and it seems, they had given me a true Account of themselves before.

This brings these two Men to a farther Remembrance: The Name of one was *John Hayward*, who was at that Time under-Sexton, of the Parish of St.

Stephen

Stephen Coleman-ſtreet; by under Sexton, was underſtood at that Time Grave-digger and Bearer of the Dead. This Man carry'd or aſſiſted to carry all the Dead to their Graves, which were bury'd in that large Pariſh, and who were carried in Form; and after that Form of Burying was ſtopt, went with the Dead Cart and the Bell, to fetch the dead Bodies from the Houſes where they lay, and fetch'd many of them out of the Chambers and Houſes; for the Pariſh was, and is ſtill remarkable, particularly above all the Pariſhes in *London*, for a great Number of Alleys, and Thorough-fares very long, into which no Carts cou'd come, and where they were oblig'd to go and fetch the Bodies a very long Way; which Alleys now remain to Witneſs it; ſuch as *Whites-Alley*, *Croſs-Key-Court*, *Swan-Alley*, *Bell-Alley*, *White-Horſe-Alley*, and many more: Here they went with a kind of Hand-Barrow, and lay'd the Dead Bodies on it, and carry'd them out to the Carts; which work he performed, and never had the Diſtemper at all, but liv'd above 20 Year after it, and was Sexton of the Pariſh to the Time of his Death. His Wife at the ſame, time was a Nurſe to infected People, and tended many that died in the Pariſh, being for her honeſty recommended by the Pariſh Officers, yet ſhe never was infected neither.

He never uſed any Preſervative againſt the Infection, other than holding *Garlick* and *Rue* in his Mouth, and ſmoaking Tobacco; this I alſo had from his own Mouth; and his Wife's Remedy was waſhing her Head in Vinegar, and ſprinkling her Head-Cloths ſo with Vinegar, as to keep them always Moiſt; and if the ſmell of any of thoſe ſhe waitd on was more than ordinary Offenſive, ſhe ſnuft Vinegar up her Noſe, and ſprinkled Vinegar upon her Head-Cloths, and held a Handkerchief weted with Vinegar to her Mouth.

It muſt be confeſt, that tho' the Plague was chiefly among the Poor; yet, were the Poor the moſt

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Venturous and Fearleſs of it, and went about their Employment, with a Sort of brutal Courage; I muſt call it ſo, for it was founded neither on Religion or Prudence; ſcarſe did they uſe any Caution, but run into any Buſineſs, which they conld get Employment in, tho' it was the moſt hazardous; ſuch was that of tending the Sick, watching Houſes ſhut up, carrying infected Perſons to the Peſt-Houſe; and which was ſtill worſe, carrying the Dead away to their Graves.

It was under this *John Hayward's* Care, and within his Bounds, that the Story of the Piper, with which People have made themſelves ſo merry, happen'd, and he aſſur'd me that it was true. It is ſaid, that it was a blind Piper; but as *John* told me, the Fellow was not blind, but an ignorant weak poor Man, and uſually walked his Rounds about 10 a Clock at Night, and went piping along from Door to Door, and the People uſually took him in at Public Houſes where they knew him, and would give him Drink and Victuals, and ſometimes Farthings; and he in Return, would Pipe and Sing, and talk ſimply, which diverted the People, and thus he liv'd: It was but a very bad Time for this Diverſion, while Things were as I have told; yet the poor Fellow went about as uſual, but was almoſt ſtarv'd; and when any Body ask'd how he did, he would anſwer, the Dead Cart had not taken him yet, but that they had promiſed to call for him next Week.

It happen'd one Night, that this poor Fellow, whether ſome body had given him too much Drink or no, *John Hayward* ſaid, he had not Drink in his Houſe; but that they had given him a little more Victuals than ordinary at a Public Houſe in *Coleman-ſtreet*; and the poor Fellow having not uſually had a Belly-full, or perhaps not a good while, was laid all along upon the Top of a Bulk or Stall, and faſt a ſleep at a Door, in the Street near *London-Wall*, towards *Cripple-*

gate

gate, and that upon the ſame Bulk or Stall, the People of ſome Houſe, in the Alley of which the Houſe was a Corner, hearing a Bell, which they always rung before the Cart came, had laid a Body really dead of the Plague juſt by him, thinking too, that this poor Fellow had been a dead Body as the other was, and laid there by ſome of the Neighbours.

Accordingly when *John Hayward* with his Bell and the Cart came along, finding two dead Bodies lie upon the Stall they took them up with the Inſtrument they uſed, and threw them into the Cart; and all this while the Piper ſlept ſoundly.

From hence they paſſed along, and took in other dead Bodies, till, as honeſt *John Hayward* told me, they almoſt burried him alive, in the Cart, yet all this While he ſlept ſoundly; at length the Cart came to the Place where the Bodies were to be thrown into the Ground, which, as I do remember, was at *Mount-mill*; and as the Cart uſually ſtopt ſome Time before they were ready to ſhoot out the melancholly Load they had in it, as ſoon as the Cart ſtop'd, the Fellow awaked, and ſtruggled a little to get his Head out from among the dead Bodies, when raiſing himſelf up in the Cart, he called out, *Hey! where am I?* This frighted the Fellow that attended about the Work, but after ſome Pauſe *John Hayward* recovering himſelf ſaid, *Lord bleſs us. There's ſome Body in the Cart not quite dead!* So another call'd to him and ſaid, *Who are you?* the Fellow anſwered, *I am the poor Piper. Where am I? Where are you!* ſays *Hayward*; *why, you are in the Dead-Cart, and we are a-going to bury you. But I an't dead tho', am I?* ſays the Piper; which made them laugh a little, tho' as *John* ſaid, they were hear tily frighted at firſt; ſo they help'd the poor Fellow down, and he went about his Buſineſs.

I know the Story goes, he ſet up his Pipes in the Cart, and frighted the Bearers, and others, ſo that they ran away; but *John Hayward* did not tell the Story ſo, nor ſay any Thing of his Piping at all; but

that

that he was a poor Piper, and that he was carried away as above I am fully satisfied of the Truth of.

It is to be noted here, that the Dead Carts in the City were not not confin'd to particular Parishes, but one Cart went thro' several Parishes, according as the Numbers of Dead presented; nor were they ty'd to carry the Dead to their respective Parishes, but many of the Dead, taken up in the City, were carried to the Burying-Ground in the Out-parts, for want of Room.

I have already mentioned the Surprize, that this Judgment was at first among the People, I must be allowed to give some of my Observations on the more serious and religious Part. Surely never City, at least, of this Bulk and Magnitude, was taken in a Condition so perfectly unprepar'd for such a dreadful Visitation, whether I am to speak of the Civil Preparations, or Religious; they were indeed, as if they had had no Warning, no Expectation, no Apprehensions, and consequently the least Provision imaginable, was made for it in a publick Way; for Example.

The Lord Mayor and Sheriffs had made no Provision as Magistrates, for the Regulations which were to be observed; they had gone into no Measures for Relief of the Poor.

The Citizens had no publick Magazines, or Store-Houses for Corn, or Meal, for the Subsistence of the Poor; which, if they had provided themselves, as in such Cases is done abroad, many miserable Families, who were now reduc'd to the utmost Distress, would have been reliev'd, and that in a better Manner, than now could be done.

The Stock of the City's Money, I can say but little to, the Chamber of *London* was said to be exceeding rich; and it may be concluded, that they were so, by the vast Sums of Money issued from thence, in the re-building the publick Edifices after the Fire of *London*, and in Building new Works, such as, for the first

first Part, the *Guild-Hall*, *Blackwell-Hall*, Part of *Leaden-Hall*, Half the *Exchange*, the *Session-House*, the *Compter*; the Prisons of *Ludgate*, *Newgate*, *&c.* several of the Wharfs, and Stairs, and Landing-places on the River; all which were either burnt down or damaged by the great Fire of *London*, the next Year after the Plague; and of the second Sort, the Monument, *Fleet-ditch* with its Bridges, aud the Hospital of *Bethlem*, or *Bedlam*, *&c.* But possibly the Managers of the City's Credit, at that Time, made more Conscience of breaking in upon the Orphan's Money; to shew Charity to the distress'd Citizens, than the Managers in the following Years did, to beautify the City, and re-edify the Buildings, tho' in the first Case, the Losers would have thought their Fortunes better bestow'd, and the Publick Faith of the City have been less subjected to Scandal and Reproach.

It must be acknowledg'd that the absent Citizens, who, tho' they were fled for Safety into the Country, were yet greatly interested in the Welfare of those who they left behind, forgot not to contribute liberally to the Relief of the Poor, and large Sums were also collected among Trading-Towns in the remotest Parts of of *England*; and as I have heard also, the Nobility and the Gentry, in all Parts of *England*, took the deplorable Condition of the City into their Consideration, and sent up large Sums of Money in Charity, to the Lord Mayor and Magistrates, for the Relief of the Poor; the King also, as I was told, ordered a thousand Pounds a Week to be distributed in four Parts; one Quarter to the City and Liberties of *Westminster*: one Quarter, or Part, among the Inhabitants of the *Southwark* Side of the Water; one Quarter to the Liberty and Parts within, of the City, exclusive of the City, within the Walls; and one fourth Part to the Suburbs in the County of *Middlesex*, and the East and North Parts of the City: But this latter I only speak of as a Report.

Cer-

Certain it is, the greateſt Part of the Poor, or Families, who formerly liv'd by their Labour, or by Retail-Trade, liv'd now on Charity; and had there not been prodigious Sums of Money given by charitable, well-minded Chriſtians, for the Support of ſuch, the City could never have ſubſiſted. There were, no Queſtion, Accounts kept of their Charity, and of the juſt Diſtribution of it by the Magiſtrates: But as ſuch Mulitudes of thoſe very Officers died, thro' whoſe Hands it was diſtributed; and alſo that, as I have been told, moſt of the Accounts of thoſe Things were loſt in the great Fire which happened in the very next Year, and which burnt even the Chamberlain's Office, and many of their Papers; ſo I could never come at the particular Account, which I uſed great Endeavours to have ſeen.

It may, however, be a Direction in Caſe of the Approach of a like Viſitation, which God keep the City from; I ſay, it may be of uſe to obſerve that by the Care of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, at that Time, in diſtributing Weekly, great Sums of Money, for Relief of the Poor, a Multitude of People, who would otherwiſe have periſhed, were relieved, and their Lives preſervd. And here let me enter into a brief State of the Caſe of the Poor at that Time, and what Way apprehended from them, from whence may be judg'd hereafter, what may be expected, if the like Diſtreſs ſhould come upon the City.

At the Beginning of the Plague, when there was now no more Hope, but that the whole City would be viſited, when, as I have ſaid, all that had Friends or Eſtates in the Country, retired with their Families, and when, indeed, one would have thought the very City it ſelf was running out of the Gates, and that there would be no Body left behind. You may be ſure, from that Hour, all Trade, except ſuch as related to immediate Subſiſtence, was, *as it were*, at a full Stop.

This

This is so lively a Case, and contains in it so much of the real Condition of the People; that I think, I cannot be too particular in it; and therefore I descend to the several Arrangements or Classes of People, who fell into immediate Distress upon this Occasion: For Example,

1. *All Master Work-men in Manufactures; especially such as belong'd to Ornament, and the less necessary Parts of the People dress Cloths and Furniture for Houses; such as Riband Weavers, and other Weavers; Gold and Silverlace-makers, and Gold and Silverwyer-drawers, Seemstresses, Milleners, Shoe-makers, Hat-makers and Glove-makers: Also Upholdsterers, Joyners, Cabinet-makers, Looking-glass-makers; and innumerable Trades which depend upon such as these; I say the Master Workmen in such, stopt their Work, dismist their Journeymen, and Workmen, and all their Dependants.*
2. *As Merchandizing was at a full stop, for very few Ships ventur'd to come up the River, and none at all went out; so all the extraordinary Officers of the Customes, likewise the Watermen, Carmen, Porters, and all the Poor, whose Labour depended upon the Merchants, were at once dismist, and put out of Business.*
3. *All the Tradesmen usually employ'd in building or repareing of Houses, were at a full Stop, for the People were far from wanting to build Houses, when so many thousand Houses were at once stript of their Inhabitants; so that this one Article turn'd all the ordinary Work-men of that Kind out of Business; such as Brick-layers, Masons, Carpenters, Joyners, Plasterers, Painters, Glaziers, Smiths, Plumbers; and all the Labourers depending on such.*
4. *As Navigation was at a Stop; our Ships neither coming in, or going out as before; so the Seamen were all out of Employment, and many of them in the last and lowest Degree of Distress, and with the Seamen, were all the several Tradesmen, and Workmen belonging to and depending upon the building, and fitting out of Ships; such as Ship Carpenters, Caulkers, Rope-makers, Dry-Coopers, Sail-*

Sail-makers, Anchor-Smiths, and other Smiths; Block-makers, Carvers, Gun-Smiths, Ship-Chandlers, Ship-Carvers and the like; The Masters of those perhaps might live upon their Substance; but the Traders were Universally at a Stop, and consequently all their Workmen discharged: Add to these, that the River was in a manner without Boats, and all or most part of the Watermen, Lightermen, Boat-builders, and Lighter-builders in like manner idle, and laid by.

5. *All Families retrench'd their living as much as possible, as well those that fled, as those that stay'd; so that an innumerable Multitude of Footmen, Serving Men, Shop-keepers, Journey-men, Merchants-Book-keepers, and such Sort of People, and especially poor Maid Servants were turn'd off, and left Friendless and Helpless without Employment, and without Habitation; and this was really a dismal Article.*

I might be more particular as to this Part: But it may suffice to mention in general; all Trades being stopt, Employment ceased; the Labour, and by that, the Bread of the Poor were cut off; and at first indeed, the Cries of the poor were most lamentable to hear; tho' by the Distribution of Charity, their Misery that way was greatly abated: Many indeed fled into the Countries; but thousands of them having stay'd in *London*, till nothing but Desperation sent them away; Death overtook them on the Road, and they serv'd for no better than the Messengers of Death, indeed, others carrying the Infection along with them; spreading it very unhappily into the remotest Parts of the Kingdom.

Many of these were the miserable Objects of Dispair which I have mention'd before, and were remov'd by the Destruction which followed; these might be said to perish, not by the Infection it self, but by the Consequence of it; indeed, namely, by Hunger and Distress, and the Want of all Things; being without Lodging, without Money, without Friends,

Friends, without Means to get their Bread, or without any one to give it them, for many of them were without what we call legal Settlements, and so could not claim of the Parishes, and all the Support they had, was by Application to the Magistrates for Relief, which Relief was, (to give the Magistrates their Due) carefully and chearfully administred, as they found it necessary; and those that stay'd behind never felt the Want and Distress of that Kind, which they felt, who went away in the manner above-noted.

Let any one who is acquainted with what Multitudes of People, get their daily Bread in this City by their Labour, whether Artificers or meer Workmen; I say, let any Man consider, what must be the miserable Condition of this Town, if on a sudden, they should be all turned out of Employment, that Labour should cease, and Wages for Work be no more.

This was the Case with us at that Time, and had not the Sums of Money, contributed in Charity by well disposed People, of every Kind, as well abroad as at home, been prodigiously great, it had not been in the Power of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, to have kept the Publick Peace; nor were they without Apprehensions as it was, that Desparation should push the People upon Tumults, and cause them to rifle the Houses of rich Men, and plunder the Markets of Provisions; in which Case the Country People, who brought Provisions very freely and boldly to Town, would ha' been terrified from coming any more, and the Town would ha' sunk under an unavoidable Famine.

But the Prudence of my Lord Mayor, and the Court of Aldermen within the City, and of the Justices of Peace in the Out-parts was such, and they were supported with Money from all Parts so well, that the poor People were kept quiet, and their Wants every where reliev'd, as far as was possible to be done.

Two Things, besides this, contributed to prevent the Mob doing any Mischief: One was, that really the Rich themselves had not laid up Stores of Provi-

sions in their Houses, as indeed, they ought to have done, and which if they had been wise enough to have done, and lock'd themselves entirely up, as some few did, they had perhaps escaped the Disease better: But as it appear'd they had not, so the Mob had no Notion of finding Stores of Provisions there, if they had broken in, as it is plain they were sometimes very near doing, and which, if they had, they had finish'd the Ruin of the whole City, for there were no regular Troops to ha' withstood them, nor could the Traind-Bands have been brought together to defend the City, no Men being to be found to bear Arms.

But the Vigilance of the Lord Mayor, and such Magistrates as could be had, for some, even of the Aldermen were Dead, and some absent, prevented this; and they did it by the most kind and gentle Methods they could think of, as particularly by relieving the most desperate with Money, and putting others into Business, and particularly that Employment of watching Houses that were infected and shut up; and as the Number of these were very great, for it was said, there was at one Time, ten thousand Houses shut up, and every House had two Watchmen to guard it, *viz.* one by Night, and the other by Day; this gave Opportunity to employ a very great Number of poor Men at a Time.

The Women, and Servants, that were turned off from their Places, were likewise employed as Nurses to tend the Sick in all Places; and this took off a very great Number of them.

And, which tho' a melancholy Article in it self, yet was a Deliverance in its Kind, namely, the Plague which raged in a dreadful Manner from the Middle of *August* to the Middle of *October*, carried off in that Time thirty or forty Thousand of these very People, which had they been left, would certainly have been an unsufferable Burden, by their Poverty, *that is to say*, the whole City could not have supported the Expence of them, or have provided Food for them;

them; and they would in Time have been even driven to the Neceſſity of plundering either the City it ſelf, or the Country adjacent, to have ſubſiſted themſelves, which would firſt or laſt, have put the whole Nation, a well as the City, into the utmoſt Terror and Confuſion.

It was obſervable then, that this Calamity of the People made them very humble; for now, for about nine Weeks together, there died near a thouſand a-Day, one Day with another, even by the Account of the weekly Bills, which yet I have Reaſon to be aſſur'd never gave a full Account, by many thouſands; the Confuſion being ſuch, and the Carts working in the Dark, when they carried the Dead, that in ſome Places no Account at all was kept, but they work'd on; the Clerks and Sextons not attending for Weeks together, and not knowing what Number they carried. This Account is verified by the following Bills of Mortality.

		Of all Diſeaſes.	*Of the Plague.*
From	*Aug.* 8 to *Aug.* 15	5319	3880
	to 22	5568	4237
	to 29	7496	6102
	Aug. 29 to *Sept.* 5	8252	6988
	to 12	7690	6544
	to 19	8297	7165
	to 26	6400	5533
	Sept. 26 to *Oct.* 3	5720	4929
	to 10	5068	4227
		59870	49705

So that the Groſs of the People were carried off in theſe two Months; for as the whole Number which was brought in, to die of the Plague, was but 68590 here, is fifty thouſand of them, within a Trifle, in two Months; I ſay 50000, becauſe, as there wants 295 in the Number above, ſo there wants two Days of two Months, in the Account of Time.

Now when, I ſay, that the Pariſh Officers did not give in a full Account, or were not to be depended upon for their Account, let any one but conſider how

Men could be exact in such a Time of dreadful Distress, and when many of them were taken sick themselves, and perhaps died in the very Time when their Accounts were to be given in, I mean the Parish-Clerks; besides inferior Officers; for tho' these poor Men ventured at all Hazards, yet they were far from being exempt from the common Calamity, especially, if it be true, that the Parish of *Stepney* had within the Year, one hundred and sixteen Sextons, Grave-diggers, and their Assistants, that is to say, Bearers, Bell-men, and Drivers of Carts, for carrying off the dead Bodies.

Indeed the Work was not of a Nature to allow them Leisure, to take an exact Tale of the dead Bodies, which were all huddled together in the Dark into a Pit; which Pit, or Trench, no Man could come nigh, but at the utmost Peril. I observ'd often, that in the Parishes of *Algate*, and *Cripplegate*, *White-Chappel* and *Stepney*, there was five, six, seven, and eight hundred in a Week, in the Bills, whereas if we may believe the Opinion of those that liv'd in the City, all the Time, as well as I, there died sometimes 2000 a-Week in those Parishes; and I saw it under the Hand of one, that made as strict an examination into that Part as he could, that there really died an hundred thousand People of the Plague, in it that one Year, whereas the Bills, the Articles of the Plague, was but 68590.

If I may be allowed to give my Opinion, by what I saw with my Eyes, and heard from other People that were Eye Witnesses, I do verily believe the same, *viz.* that there died, at least, 100000 of the Plague only, besides other Distempers, and besides those which died in the Fields, and High-ways, and secret Places, out of the Compass of the Communication, as it was called; and who were not put down in the Bills, tho' they really belonged to the Body of the Inhabitants. It was known to us all, that abundance of poor dispairing Creatures, who had the Distemper upon them, and were grown stupid, or me-

melancholly by their Misery, as many were, wandred away into the Fields, and Woods, and into secret uncouth Places, almost any where to creep into a Bush, or Hedge, and DIE.

The Inhabitants of the Villages adjacent would in Pity, carry them Food, and set it at a Distance, that they might fetch it, if they were able, and sometimes they were not able; and the next Time they went, they should find the poor Wretches lie dead, and the Food untouch'd. The Number of these miserable Objects were many, and I know so many that perish'd thus, and so exactly where, that I believe I could go to the very Place and dig their Bones up still; for the Country People would go and dig a Hole at a Distance from them, and then with long Poles, and Hooks at the End of them, drag the Bodies into these Pits, and then thro' the Earth in Form as far as they could cast it to cover them; taking notice how the Wind blew, and so coming on that Side which the Seamen call *to-Wind-ward*, that the Scent of the Bodies might blow from them; and thus great Numbers went out of the World, who were never known or any Account of them taken, as well within the Bills of Mortality as without.

This indeed I had, in the main, only from the Relation of others; for I seldom walk'd into the Fields, except towards *Bednal-green* and *Hackney*; or as hereafter: But when I did walk I always saw a great many poor Wanderers at a Distance, but I could know little of their Cases; for whether it were in the Street, or in the Fields, if we had seen any Body coming, it was a general Method to walk away; yet I believe the Account is exactly true.

As this puts me upon mentioning my walking the Streets and Fields, I cannot omit taking notice what a desolate Place the City was at that Time: The great Street I liv'd in, which is known to be one of the broadest of all the Streets of *London*. I mean of the Suburbs as well as the Liber-

ties; all the Side where the Butchers lived, especially without the Bars was more like a green Field than a paved Street, and the People generally went in the middle with the Horses and Carts: It is true, that the tartheſt End towards *White-Chappel* Church, was not all pav'd, but even the Part that was pav'd was full of Graſs alſo; but this need not ſeem ſtrange ſince the great Streets within the City, ſuch as *Leaden-hall-Street*, *Biſhopgate-Street*, *Cornhill*, and even the *Exchange* it ſelf, had Graſs growing in them, in ſeveral Places; neither Cart or Coach were ſeen in the Streets from Morning to Evening, except ſome Country Carts to bring Roots and Beans, or Peaſe, Hay and Straw, to the Market, and thoſe but very few, compared to what was uſual: As for Coaches they were ſcarce uſed, but to carry ſick People to the Peſt-Houſe, and to other Hoſpitals; and ſome few to carry Phyſicians to ſuch Places as they thought fit to venture to viſit; for really Coaches were dangerous things, and People did not Care to venture into them, becauſe they did not know who might have been carried in them laſt; and ſick infected People were, *as I have ſaid*, ordinarily carried in them to the Peſt-Houſes, and ſometimes People expired in them as they went along.

It is true, when the Infection came to ſuch a Height as I have now mentioned, there were very few Phyſicians, which car'd to ſtir abroad to ſick Houſes, and very many of the moſt eminent of the Faculty were dead as well as the Surgeons alſo, for now it was indeed a diſmal time, and for about a Month together, not taking any Notice of the Bills of Mortality, I believe there did not die leſs than 1500 or 1700 a-Day, one Day with another.

One of the worſt Days we had in the whole Time, as I thought, was in the Beginning of *September*, when indeed good People began to think, that God was reſolved to make a full End of the People in this miſerable City. This was at that Time when the

Plague

Plague was fully come into the Eastern Parishes: The Parish of *Algate*, if I may give my Opinion buried above a thousand a Week for two Weeks, tho' the Bills did not say so many; but it surrounded me at so dismal a rate, that there was not a House in twenty uninfected; in the *Minories*, in *Houndsditch*, and in those Parts of *Algate* Parish about the *Butcher-Row*, and the Alleys over against me, I say in those places Death reigned in every Corner. *White-Chapel* Parish was in the same Condition, and tho' much less than the Parish I liv'd in; yet bury'd near 600 a Week by the Bills; and in my Opinion, near twice as many; whole Families, and indeed, whole Streets of Familes were swept away together; insomuch, that it was frequent for Neighbours to call to the Bellman, to go to such and such Houses, and fetch out the People, for that they were all Dead.

And indeed, the Work of removing the dead Bodies by Carts, was now grown so very odious and dangerous, that it was complain'd of, that the Bearers did not take Care to clear such Houses, where all the Inhabitants were dead; but that sometimes the Bodies lay several Days unburied, till the neighbouring Families were offended with the Stench, and consequently infect'd; and this neglect of the Officers was such, that the Church Wardens and Constables were summon'd to look after it; and even the Justices of the *Hamlets*, were oblig'd to venture their Lives among them, to quicken and encourage them; for innumerable of the Bearers dy'd of the Distemper, infected by the Bodies they were oblig'd to come so near; and had it not been, that the Number of poor People who wanted Employment, and wanted Bread, (as I have said before,) was so great, that Necessity drove them to undertake any Thing, and venture any thing, they would never have found People to be employ'd; and then the Bodies of the dead would have lain above Ground, and have perished and rotted in a dreadful Manner.

But the Magistrates cannot be enough commended in this, that they kept such good Order for the bury-

ing of the Dead, that as fast as any of those they employ'd to carry off, and bury the dead, fell sick or dy'd, as was many Times the Case, they immediately supply'd the places with others; which by reason of the great Number of Poor that was left out of Business, *as above*, was not hard to do: This occasion'd, that notwithstanding the infinite Number of People which dy'd, and were sick almost all together, yet, they were always clear'd away, and carry'd off every Night; so that it was never to be said of *London*, that the living were not able to bury the Dead.

As the Desolation was greater, during those terrible Times, so the Amazement of the People encreas'd; and a thousand unaccountable Things they would do in the violence of their Fright, as others did the same in the Agonies of their Distemper, and this part was very affecting; some went roaring, and crying, and wringing their Hands along the Street; some would go praying, and lifting up their Hands to Heaven, calling upon God for Mercy. I cannot say indeed, whether this was not in their Distraction; *but be it so*, it was still an indication of a more serious Mind, when they had the use of their Senses, and was much better, *even as it was*, than the frightful yellings and cryings that every Day, and especially in the Evenings, were heard in some Streets. I suppose the World has heard of the famous *Soloman Eagle* an Enthusiast: He tho' not infected at all, but in his Head; went about denouncing of Judgment upon the City in a frightful manner; sometimes quite naked, and with a Pan of burning Charcoal on his Head: What he said or pretended, indeed I could not learn.

I will not say, whether that Clergyman was distracted or not: Or whether he did it in pure Zeal for the poor People who went every Evening thro' the Streets of *White-Chapel*; and with his Hands lifted up, repeated that Part of the *Liturgy* of the Church continually; *Spare us good Lord, spare thy People whom thou hast redeemed with thy most precious Blood*, I say, I cannot speak positively

tively of these Things; because these were only the dismal Objects which represented themselves to me as I look'd thro' my Chamber Windows (for I seldom opened the Casements) while I confin'd my self within Doors, during that most violent rageing of the Pestilence; when indeed, as I have said, many began to think, and even to say, that there would none escape; and indeed, I began to think so too; and therefore kept within Doors, for about a Fortnight, and never stirr'd out: But I cou'd not hold it; Besides, there were some People, who notwithstanding the Danger, did not omit publickly to attend the Worship of God, even in the most dangerous Times; and tho' it is true, that a great many Clergymen did shut up their Churches, and fled as other People did, for the safety of their Lives; yet, all did not do so, some ventur'd to officiate, and to keep up the Assemblies of the People by constant Prayers; and sometimes Sermons, or Brief Exhortations to Repentance and Reformation, and this as long as any would come to hear them; and Dissenters did the like also, and even in the very Churches, where the Parish Ministers were either Dead or fled, nor was there any Room for making Difference, at such a Time as this was.

It was indeed a lamentable Thing to hear the miserable Lamentations of poor dying Creatures, calling out for Ministers to Comfort them, and pray with them, to Counsel them, and to direct them, calling out to God for Pardon and Mercy, and confessing aloud their past Sins. It would make the stoutest Heart bleed to hear how many Warnings were then given by dying Penitents, to others not to put off and delay their Repentance to the Day of Distress, that such a Time of Calamity as this, was no Time for Repentance; was no Time to call upon God. I wish I could repeat the very Sound of those Groans, and of those Exclamations that I heard from some poor dying Creatures, when in the Hight of their Agonies and Distress; and that I could make him that read this hear, as I imagine I now hear them, for the Sound seems still to Ring in my Ears. If

If I could but tell this Part, in such moving Accents as should alarm the very Soul of the Reader, I should rejoice that I recorded those Things, however short and imperfect.

It pleased God that I was still spar'd, and very hearty and sound in Health, but very impatient of being pent up within Doors without Air, as I had been for 14 Days or thereabouts; and I could not restrain my self, but I would go to carry a Letter for my Brother to the Post-House; then it was indeed, that I observ'd a profound Silence in the Streets; when I came to the Post-House, as I went to put in my Letter, I saw a Man stand in one Corner of the Yard, and talking to another at a Window; and a third had open'd a Door belonging to the Office; In the middle of the Yard lay a small Leather Purse, with two Keys hanging at it, and Money in it, but no Body would meddle with it: I ask'd how long it had lain there; the Man at the Window said, it had lain almost an Hour; but that they had not meddled with it, because they did not know, but the Person who dropt it, might come back to look for it. I had no such need of Money, nor was the Sum so big, that I had any Inclination to meddle with it, or to get the Money at the hazard it might be attended with; so I seem'd to go away, when the Man who had open'd the Door, said, he would take it up; but so, that if the right Owner came for it, he should be sure to have it: So he went in, and fetched a pail of Water, and set it down hard by the Purse; then went again, and fetch'd some Gun-powder, and cast a good deal of Powder upon the Purse, and then made a Train from that which he had thrown loose upon the Purse; the train reached about two Yards; after this he goes in a third Time, and fetches out a pair of Tongues red hot, and which he had prepar'd, I suppose on purpose; and first letting Fire to the Train of Powder, that sing'd the Purse and also smoak'd the Air sufficiently: But he was not content with that; but he then takes up

the Purſe with the Tongs, holding it ſo long till the Tongs burnt thro' the Purſe, and then he ſhook the Money out into the Pail of Water, ſo he carried it in. The Money, as I remember, was about thirteen Shillings, and ſome ſmooth Groats, and Braſs Farthings.

There might perhaps, have been ſeveral poor People, *as I have obſerv'd above*, that would have been hardy enough to have ventured for the ſake of the Money; but you may eaſily ſee by what I have obſerv'd, that the few People, who were ſpar'd, were very careful of themſelves, at that Time when the Diſtreſs was ſo exceeding great.

Much about the ſame Time I walk'd out into the Fields towards *Bow*; for I had a great mind to ſee how things were managed in the River, and among the Ships; and as I had ſome Concern in Shipping, I had a Notion that it had been one of the beſt Ways of ſecuring ones ſelf from the Infection to have retir'd into a Ship, and muſing how to ſatisfy my Curioſity, in that Point, I turned away over the Fields, from *Bow* to *Bromley*, and down to *Blackwall*, to the Stairs, which are there for landing, or taking Water.

Here I ſaw a poor Man walking on the Bank, or Sea-wall, as they call it, by himſelf, I walked a while alſo about, ſeeing the Houſes all ſhut up; at laſt I fell into ſome Talk, at a Diſtance, with this poor Man; firſt I asked him, how People did thereabouts? *Alas, Sir!* ſays he, *almoſt all deſolate; all dead or ſick: Here are very few Families in this Part, or in that Village*, pointing at *Poplar*, *where half of them are not dead already, and the reſt ſick.* Then he pointed to one Houſe, *There they are all dead*, ſaid he, *and the Houſe ſtands open; no Body dares go into it. A poor Thief*, ſays he, *ventured in to ſteal ſomething, but he paid dear for his Theft; for he was carried to the Churchyard too, laſt Night.* Then he pointed to ſeveral other Houſes. *There*, ſays he, *they are all dead; the Man and his Wife, and five Children. There*, ſays he, *they are ſhut up, you ſee a Watchman at the Door*; and ſo of other Houſes. *Why*, ſays I, *What do you here all alone?*

Why,

Why, says he, *I am a poor desolate Man; it has pleased God I am not yet visited, tho' my Family is, and one of my Children dead. How do you mean then*, said I, *that you are not visited. Why*, says he, *that's my House*, pointing to a very little low boarded House, *and there my poor Wife and two Children live*, said he, *if they may be said to live*, ; *for my Wife and one of the Children are visited, but I do not come at them.* And with that Word I saw the Tears run very plentifully down his Face; and so they did down mine too, I assure you.

But said I, *Why do you not come at them? How can you abandon your own Flesh, and Blood? Oh, Sir!* says he, *the Lord forbid; I do not abandon them; I work for them as much as I am able; and blessed be the Lord, I keep them from Want*; and with that I observ'd, he lifted up his Eyes to Heaven, with a Countenance that presently told me, I had happened on a Man that was no Hypocrite, but a serious, religious good Man, and his Ejaculation was an Expression of Thankfulness, that in such a Condition as he was in, he should be able to say his Family did not want. *Well*, says I, *honest Man, that is a great Mercy as things go now with the Poor: But how do you live then, and how are you kept from the dreadful Calamity that is now upon us all? Why Sir*, says he, *I am a Waterman, and there's my Boat*, says he, *and the Boat serves me for a House; I work in it in the Day, and I sleep in it in the Night; and what I get, I lay down upon that Stone*, says he, shewing me a broad Stone on the other Side of the Street, a good way from his House, *and then*, says he, *I halloo, and call to them till I make them hear; and they come and fetch it.*

Well Friend, says I, *but how can you get any Money as a Waterman? does any Body go by Water these Times? Yes Sir*, says he, *in the Way I am employ'd there does. Do you see there*, says he, *five Ships lie at Anchor*, pointing down the River, a good way below the Town, *and do you see*, says he, *eight or ten Ships lie at the Chain, there, and at Anchor yonder*, pointing above the Town. *All those Ships have Families on board, of their Merchants*

and

and Owners, and such like, who have lock'd themselves up, and live on board, close shut in, for fear of the Infection; and I tend on them to fetch Things for them, carry Letters, and do what is absolutely necessary, that they may not be obliged to come on Shore; and every Night I fasten my Boat on board one of the Ship's Boats, and there I sleep by my self, and blessed be God, I am preserv'd hitherto.

Well, said I, Friend, but will they let you come on board, after you have been on Shore here, when this is such a terrible Place, and so infected as it is?

Why, as to that, said he, I very seldom go up the Ship Side, but deliver what I bring to their Boat, or lie by the Side, and they hoist it on board; if I did, I think they are in no Danger from me, for I never go into any House on Shore, or touch any Body, no, not of my own Family; But I fetch Provisions for them.

Nay, says I, but that may be worse, for you must have those Provisions of some Body or other; and since all this Part of the Town is so infected, it is dangerous so much as to speak with any Body; for this Village, said I, is as it were, the Beginning of London, tho' it be at some Distance from it.

That is true, added he, but you do not understand me Right, I do not buy Provisions for them here; I row up to Greenwich and buy fresh Meat there, and sometimes I row down the River to Woolwich and buy there; then I go to single Farm Houses on the Kentish Side, where I am known, and buy Fowls and Eggs, and Butter, and bring to the Ships, as they direct me, sometimes one, sometimes the other; I seldom come on Shore here; and I came now only to call to my Wife, and hear how my little Family do, and give them a little Money, which I receiv'd last Night.

Poor Man! said I, and how much hast thou gotten for them?

I have gotten four Shillings, said he, which is a great Sum, as things go now with poor Men; but they have given me a Bag of Bread too, and a Salt Fish and some Flesh; so all helps out.

Well

Well, said I, *and have you given it them yet?*

No, said he, *but I have called, and my Wife has answered, that she cannot come out yet, but in Half an Hour she hopes to come, and I am waiting for her: Poor Woman!* says he, *she is brought sadly down; she has a Swelling, and it is broke, and I hope she will recover; but I fear the Child will die; but* it is the Lord! —— Here he stopt, and wept very much.

Well, honest Friend, said I, *thou hast a sure Comforter, if thou hast brought thy self to be resign'd to the will of God, he is dealing with us all in Judgment.*

Oh, Sir, says he, *it is infinite Mercy, if any of us are spar'd; and who am I to repine!*

Sayest thou so, said I, *and how much less is my Faith than thine?* And here my Heart smote me, suggesting how muth better this Poor Man's Foundation was, on which he staid in the Danger, than mine; that he had no where to fly; that he had a Family to bind him to Attendance, which I had not; and mine was meer Presumption, his a true Dependance, and a Courage resting on God: and yet, that he used all possible Caution for his Safety.

I turn'd a little way from the Man, while these Thoughts engaged me, for indeed, I could no more refrain from Tears than he.

At length, after some farther Talk, the poor Woman opened the Door, and call'd, *Robert, Robert*; he answered and bid her stay a few Moments, and he would come; so he ran down the common Stairs to his Boat, and fetch'd up a Sack in which was the Provisions he had brought from the Ships; and when he returned, he hallooed again; then he went to the great Stone which he shewed me, and emptied the Sack, and laid all out, every Thing by themselves, and then retired; and his Wife came with a little Boy to fetch them away; and he calld, and said, such a Captain had sent such a Thing, and such a Captain such a Thing, and at the End adds, *God has sent it all,*

give Thanks to him. When the Poor Woman had taken up all, she was so weak, she could not carry it at once in, *tho' the Weight was not much neither*; so she left the Biscuit which was in a little Bag, and left a little Boy to watch it till she came again.

Well, but says I to him, *did you leave her the four Shillings too, which you said was your Week's Pay?*

YES, YES, says he, *you shall hear her own it.* So he calls again, *Rachel, Rachel,* which it seems was her Name, *did you take up the Money? YES,* said she. *How much was it,* said he? *Four Shillings and a Groat,* said she. *Well, well,* says he, *the Lord keep you all*; and so he turned to go away.

As I could not refrain contributing Tears to this Man's Story, so neither could I refrain my Charity for his Assistance; so I call'd him, *Hark thee Friend,* said I, *come hither; for I believe thou art in Health, that I may venture thee*; so I pull'd out my Hand, which was in my Pocket before, *here,* says I, *go and call thy* Rachel *once more, and give her a little more Comfort from me. God will never forsake a Family that trust in him as thou dost*; so I gave him four other Shillings, and bad him go lay them on the Stone and call his Wife.

I have not Words to express the poor Man's thankfulness, neither could he express it himself; but by Tears running down his Face; he call'd his Wife, and told her God had mov'd the Heart of a Stranger upon hearing their Condition, to give them all that Money; and a great deal more such as that, he said to her. The Woman too, made Signs of the like Thankfulness, as well to Heaven, as to me, and joyfully pick'd it up; and I parted with no Money all that Year, that I thought better bestow'd.

I then ask'd the poor Man if the Distemper had not reach'd to *Greenwich*: He said it had not, till about a Fortnight before; but that then he feared it had; but that it was only at that End of the Town, which lay South towards *Deptford*-Bridge; that he went only to a Butchers-Shop, and a Grocers, where he generally

rally bought such Things as they sent him for; but was very careful.

I ask'd him then, how it came to pass, that those People who had so shut themselves up in the Ships, had not laid in sufficient Stores of all things necessary? He said some of them had, but on the other Hand, some did not come on board till they were frighted into it, and till it was too dangerous for them to go to the proper People, to lay in Quantities of Things, and that he waited on two Ships which he shewed me, that had lay'd in little or nothing but Biscuit Bread, and Ship Beer; and that he had bought every Thing else almost for them. I ask'd him, if there was any more Ships that had separated themselves, as those had done. He told me yes, all the way up from the Point, right against *Greenwich*, to within the Shore of *Lime house* and *Redriff*, all the Ships that could have Room, rid two and two in the middle of the Stream; and that some of them had several Families on Board, I ask'd him, if the Distemper had not reached them? He said he believ'd it had not, except two or three Ships, whose People had not been so watchful, to keep the Seamen from going on Shore as others had been; and he said it was a very fine Sight to see how the Ships lay up the Pool.

When he said he was going over to *Greenwich*, as soon as the Tide began to come in. I ask'd if he would let me go with him, and bring me back, for that, I had a great mind to see how the Ships were ranged as he had told me? He told me if I would assure him on the Word of a Christian, and of an honest Man, that I had not the Distemper, he would: I assur'd him, that I had not, that it had pleased God to preserve me, That I liv'd in *White-Chapel*, but was too Impatient of being so long within Doors, and that I had ventured out so far for the Refreshment of a little Air; but that none in my House had so much as been touch't with it.

Well

Well, Sir, says he, as your Charity has been mov'd to pity me and my poor Family; sure you cannot have so little pity left, as to put your self into my Boat if you were not Sound in Health, which would be nothing less than killing me, and ruining my whole Family. The poor Man troubled me so much, when he spoke of his Family with such a sensible Concern, and in such an affectionate Manner, that I cou'd not satisfy my self at first to go at all. I told him, I would lay aside my Curiosity, rather than make him uneasy; tho' I was sure, and very thankful for it, that I had no more Distemper upon me, than the freshest Man in the World: *Well,* he would not have me put it off neither, but to let me see how confident he was, that I was just to him, he now importuned me to go; so when the Tide came up to his Boat, I went in, and he carry'd me to *Greenwich*: While he bought the Things which he had in his Charge to buy, I walk'd up to the Top of the Hill, under which the Town stands, and on the East-Side of the Town, to get a Prospect of the River: But it was a surprising Sight to see the Number of Ships which lay in Rows, two and two, and some Places, two or three such Lines in the Breadth of the River, and this not only up quite to the Town, between the Houses which we call *Ratclif* and *Redriff*, which they name the *Pool*, but even down the whole River, as far as the Head of *Long-Reach*, which is as far as the Hills give us Leave to see it.

I cannot guess at the Number of Ships, but I think there must be several Hundreds of Sail; and I could not but applaud the Contrivance, for ten thousand People, and more, who attended Ship Affairs, were certainly sheltered here from the Violence of the Contagion, and liv'd very safe and very easy.

I returned to my own Dwelling very well satisfied with my Days Journey, and particularly with the poor Man; also I rejoyced to see that such little Sanctuaries were provided for so many Families, in a Time

of such Desolation. I observ'd also, that as the Violence of the Plague had encreased, so the Ships which had Families on Board, remov'd and went farther off, till, as I was told, some went quite away to Sea, and put into such Harbours, and safe Roads on the *North* Coast, as they could best come at.

But it was also true, that all the People, who thus left the Land, and liv'd on Board the Ships, were not entirely safe from the Infection, for many died, and were thrown over board into the River, some in Coffins, and some, as I heard, without Coffins, whose Bodies were seen sometimes to drive up and down, with the Tide in the River.

But I believe, I may venture to say, that in those Ships which were thus infected, it either happened where the People had recourse to them too late, and did not fly to the Ship till they had stayed too long on Shore, and had the Distemper upon them, tho' perhaps, they might not perceive it, and so the Distemper did not come to them, on Board the Ships, but they really carried it with them; OR it was in these Ships, where the poor Waterman said they had not had Time to furnish themselves with Provisions, but were obliged to send often on Shore to buy what they had Occasion for, or suffered Boats to come to them from the Shore; and so the Distemper was brought insensibly among them.

And here I cannot but take notice that the strange Temper of the People of *London* at that Time contributed extremely to their own Destruction. The Plague began, as I have observed, at the other End of the Town, namely, in *Long-Acre*, *Drury-Lane*, &c. and came on towards the City very gradually and slowly. It was felt at first in *December*, then again in *February*, then again in *April*, and always but a very little at a Time; then it stopt till *May*, and even the last Week in *May*, there was but 17, and all at that End of the Town; and all this while, even so long, as till there died above 3000 a-Week; yet had the

People

People in *Redriff*, and in *Wapping*, and *Ratcliff* on both Sides the River, and almoſt all *Southwark-Side*, a mighty Fancy, that they ſhould not be viſited, or at leaſt, that it would not be ſo violent among them: Some People fancied, the ſmell of the Pitch and Tar, and ſuch other things, as Oil and Roſin, and Brimſtone, which is ſo much uſed by all Trades relating to Shipping, would preſerve them. Others argued it, becauſe it was in its extreameſt Violence in *Weſtminſter*, and the Pariſhes of St. *Giles*'s and St. *Andrew*'s, *&c.* and began to abate again, before it came among them, which was true indeed, in Part: *For Example.*

From the 8th to the 15th of *Auguſt.*				Total this Week.
St. *Giles*'s *in the Fields*	242	*Stepney* ——	197	4030
Cripplegate	886	St. *Mag. Bermondſey*	24	
		Rotherhith —— ——	3	

From the 15th to the 22d of *Auguſt.*				Total this Week.
St. *Giles*'s *in the Fields*	175	*Stepney* —— ——	273	5319
Cripplegate	847	St. *Mag. Bermondſey*	36	
		Rotherhith ——	2	

N. B. That it was obſerv'd the Numbers mention'd in *Stepney* Pariſh, at that time, were generally all on that Side where *Stepney* Pariſh joined to *Shoreditch*, which we now call *Spittle-fields*, where the Pariſh of *Stepney* comes up to the very Wall of *Shoreditch* Church-Yard, and the Plague at this Time was abated at St. *Giles*'s *in the Fields*, and raged moſt violently in *Cripplegate*, *Biſhopſgate* and *Shoreditch* Pariſhes, but there was not 10 People a-Week that died of it in all that Part of *Stepney* Pariſh, which takes in *Lime-Houſe*, *Ratcliff-high-way*, and which are now the Pariſhes of *Shadwell* and *Wapping*, even to St. *Katherines* by the Tower, till after the whole Month of *Auguſt* was expired; but they paid for it afterwards, as I ſhall obſerve by and by.

This, I ſay, made the People of *Redriff* and *Wapping*, *Ratcliff* and *Lime-Houſe* ſo ſecure, and flatter themſelves

ſelves ſo much with the Plague's going off, without reaching them, that they took no Care, either to fly into the Country, or ſhut themſelves up; nay, ſo far were they from ſtirring, that they rather receiv'd their Friends and Relations from the City into their Houſes; and ſeveral from other Places really took Sanctuary in that Part of the Town, as a Place of Safety, and as a Place which they thought God would paſs over and not viſit as the reſt was viſited.

And this was the Reaſon, that when it came upon them they were more ſurprized, more unprovided and more at a Loſs what to do than they were in other Places, for when it came among them really, and with Violence, as it did indeed, in *September* and *October*, there was then no ſtirring out into the Country, no Body would ſuffer a Stranger to come near them, no nor near the Towns where they dwelt; and as I have been told, ſeveral that wandred into the Country on *Surry* Side were found ſtarv'd to Death in the Woods and Commons, that Country being more open and more woody, than any other Part ſo near *London*; eſpecially about *Norwood*, and the Pariſhes of *Camberwell*, *Dullege*, and *Luſum*, where it ſeems no Body durſt relieve the poor diſtreſs'd People for fear of the Infection.

This Notion having, as I ſaid, prevailed with the People in that Part of the Town, was in Part the Occaſion, *as I ſaid before*, that they had Recourſe to Ships for their Retreat; and where they did this early, and with Prudence, furniſhing themſelves ſo with Proviſions, that they had no need to go on Shore for Supplies, or ſuffer Boats to come on Board to bring them; I ſay where they did ſo they had certainly the ſafeſt Retreat of any People whatſoever: But the Diſtreſs was ſuch, that People ran on Board in their Fright without Bread to eat, and ſome into Ships, that had no Men on Board to remove them farther off, or to take the Boat and go down the River to buy Proviſions where it might be done ſafely; and

theſe

these often suffered, and were infected on board as much as on Shore.

As the richer Sort got into Ships, so the lower Rank got into Hoys, Smacks, Lighters, and Fishing-boats; and many, especially Watermen, lay in their Boats; but those made sad Work of it, especially the latter, for going about for Provision, and perhaps to get their Subsistence, the Infection got in among them and made a fearful Havock; many of the Watermen died alone in their Wherries, as they rid at their Roads, as well above-Bridge as below, and were not found sometimes till they were not in Condition for any Body to touch or come near them.

Indeed the Distress of the People at this Sea-faring End of the Town was very deplorable, and deserved the greatest Commiseration: But alas! this was a a Time when every one's private Safety lay so near them, that they had no Room to pity the Distresses of others; for every one had Death, as it were, at his Door, and many even in their Families, and knew not what to do, or whither to fly.

This, I say, took away all Compassion; self Preservation indeed appear'd here to be the first Law. For the Children ran away from their Parents, as they languished in the utmost Distress: And in some Places, tho' not so frequent as the other, Parents did the like to their Children; nay, some dreadful Examples there were, and particularly two in one Week of distressed Mothers, raveing and distracted, killing their own Children; one whereof was not far off from where I dwelt; the poor lunatick Creature not living herself long enough to be sensible of the Sin of what she had done, much less to be punish'd for it.

It is not indeed to be wondred at, for the Danger of immediate Death to ourselves, took away all Bowels of Love, all Concern for one another: I speak in general, for there were many Instances of immovable Affection, Pity, and Duty in many, and some that came to my Knowledg; that is to say, by here-say:

For I shall not take upon me to vouch the Truth of the Particulars.

To introduce one, let me first mention, that one of the most deplorable Cases, in all the present Calamity, was, that of Women with Child; who when they came to the Hour of their Sorrows, and their Pains came upon them, cou'd neither have help of one Kind or another; neither Midwife or Neigbouring Women to come near them; most of the Midwives were dead; especially, of such as serv'd the poor; and many, if not all the Midwives of Note were fled into the Country: So that it was next to impossible for a poor Woman that cou'd not pay an immoderate Price to get any Midwife to come to her, and if they did, those they cou'd get were generally unskilful and ignorant Creatures; and the Consequence of this was, that a most unusual and incredible Number of Women were reduc'd to the utmost distress. Some were deliver'd and spoil'd by the rashness and ignorance of those who pretended to lay them. Children without Number, were, I might say murthered by the same, but a more justifiable ignorance, pretending they would save the Mother, whatever became of the Child; and many Times, both Mother and Child were lost in the same Manner; and especially, where the Mother had the Distemper, there no Body would come near them, and both sometimes perish'd: Sometimes the Mother has died of the Plague; and the Infant, it may be half born, or born but not parted from the Mother. Some died in the very Pains of their Travel, and not deliver'd at all; and so many were the Cases of this Kind, that it is hard to Judge of them.

Something of it will appear in the unusual Numbers which are put into the Weekly Bills (tho' I am far from allowing them to be able to give any Thing of a full Account) under the Articles of

Child-Bed.
Abortive and *Stilborn.*
Chrisoms and *Infants.*

Take

Take the Weeks in which the Plague was most violent, and compare them with the Weeks before the Distemper began, even in the same Year: *For Example:*

		Child bed.	*Abort.*	*Stil-born.*
From	*Jan.* 3 to *Jan.* 10	— 7	— 1	— 13
	to 17	— 8	— 6	— 11
	to 24	— 9	— 5	— 15
	to 31	— 3	— 2	— 9
	Jan. 31 to *Feb.* 7	— 3	— 3	— 8
	to 14	— 6	— 2	— 11
	to 21	— 5	— 2	— 13
	to 28	— 2	— 2	— 10
	Feb. 7 to *March* 7	— 5	— 1	— 10
		48	— 24	— 100
From	*Aug.* 1 to *Aug.* 8	— 25	— 5	— 11
	to 15	— 23	— 6	— 8
	to 22	— 28	— 4	— 4
	to 29	— 40	— 6	— 10
	Aug. 1 to *Sept.* 5	— 38	— 2	— 11
	to 12	— 39	— 23	— 00
	to 19	— 42	— 5	— 17
	to 26	— 42	— 6	— 10
	Aug. 1 to *Octob.* 3	— 14	— 4	— 9
		291	— 61	— 80

To the Disparity of these Numbers, is to be considered and allow'd for, that according to our usual Opinion, who were then upon the Spot, there were not one third of the People in the Town, during the Months of *August* and *September*, as were in the Months of *January* and *February*: In a Word, the usual Number that used to die of these three Articles; and as I hear, did die of them the Year before, was thus:

1664	*Child-bed.* — —	189	1665	*Child-bed.* — —	625
	Abortive and *Stil-born.*	458		*Abort.* & *Stil-born.*	617
		647			1242

This inequallity, I say, is exceedingly augmented, when the Numbers of People are considered: I pretend not to make any exact Calculation of the Numbers of People, which were at this Time in the City; but I shall make a probable Conjecture at that part by and by: What I have said now, is to explain the misery of those poor Creatures above; so that it might well be said as in the Scripture. *Wo! be to those who are with Child; and to those which give Suck in that Day.* For indeed, it was a Wo to them in particular.

I was not conversant in many particular Families where these things happen'd; but the Out-cries of the miserable, were heard afar off. As to those who were with Child, we have seen some Calculation made 291 Women dead in Child bed in nine Weeks; out of one third Part of the Number, of whom there usually dy'd in that Time, but 48 of the same Disaster. Let the Reader calculate the Proportion.

There is no Room to doubt, but the Misery of those that gave Suck, was in Proportion as great. Our Bills of Mortality cou'd give but little Light in this; yet, some it did, there were several more than usual starv'd at Nurse, But this was nothing: The Misery was, where they were (*1st*) starved for want of a Nurse, the Mother dying, and all the Family and the Infants found dead by them, meerly for want; and if I may speak my Opinion, I do believe, that many hundreds of Poor helpless Infants perish'd in this manner. (*2dly*) Not starved (but poison'd) by the Nurse, Nay even where the Mother has been Nurse, and having receiv'd the Infection, has poison'd, that is, infected the Infant with her Milk, even before they knew they were infected themselves; nay, and the Infant has dy'd in such a Case before the Mother. I cannot but remember to leave this Admonition upon Record, if ever such another dreadful Visitation should happen in this City; that all Women that are with Child or that give Suck should be gone, if they have any possible

ſible Means out of the Place; becauſe their Miſery if infected, will ſo much exceed all other Peoples.

I could tell here diſmal Stories of living Infants being found ſucking the Breaſts of their Mothers, or Nurſes, after they have been dead of the Plague. Of a Mother, in the Pariſh where I liv'd, who having a Child that was not well, ſent for an Apothecary to View the Child, and when he came, as the Relation goes, was giving the Child ſuck at her Breaſt, and to all Appearance, was her ſelf very well: But when the Apothecary came cloſe to her, he ſaw the Tokens upon that Breaſt, with which ſhe was ſuckling the Child. He was ſurpriz'd enough to be ſure; but not willing to fright the poor Woman too much, he deſired ſhe would give the Child into his Hand; ſo he takes the Child, and going to a Cradle in the Room lays it in, and opening its Cloths, found the Tokens upon the Child too, and both dy'd before he cou'd get Home, to ſend a preventative Medicine to the Father of the Child, to whom he had told their Condition; whether the Child infected the Nurſe-Mother, or the Mother the Child was not certain, but the laſt the moſt likely.

Likewiſe of a Child brought Home to the Parents from a Nurſe that had dy'd of the Plague; yet, the tender Mother would not refuſe to take in her Child, and lay'd it in her Boſom, by which ſhe was infected, and dy'd with the Child in her Arms dead alſo.

It would make the hardeſt Heart move at the Inſtances that were frequently found of tender Mothers, tending and watching with their dear Children, and even dying before them, and ſometimes taking the Diſtemper from them, and dying when the Child, for whom the affectionate Heart had been ſacrified, has got over it and eſcap'd.

The like of a Tradeſman in *Eaſt-Smith-field*, whoſe Wife was big with Child of her firſt Child, and fell in Labour, having the Plague upon her: He cou'd neither get Midwife to aſſiſt her, or Nurſe to tend her;

her; and two Servants which he kept fled both from her. He ran from House to House like one distracted, but cou'd get no help; the utmost he could get was, that a Watchman who attended at an infected House shut up, promis'd to send a Nurse in the Morning: The poor Man with his Heart broke, went back, assisted his Wife what he cou'd, acted the part of the Midwife; brought the Child dead into the World; and his Wife in about an Hour dy'd in his Arms, where he held her dead Body fast till the Morning, when the Watchman came and brought the Nurse as he had promised; and coming up the Stairs, for he had left the Door open, or only latched: They found the Man sitting with his dead Wife in his Arms; and so overwhelmed with Grief, that he dy'd in a few Hours after, without any Sign of the Infection upon him, but meerly sunk under the Weight of his Grief.

I have heard also of some, who on the Death of their Relations, have grown stupid with the insupportable Sorrow, and of one in particular, who was so absolutely overcome with the Pressure upon his Spirits, that by Degrees, his Head sunk into his Body, so between his Shoulders, that the Crown of his Head was very little seen above the Bones of his Shoulders; and by Degrees, loseing both Voice and Sense, his Face looking forward, lay against his Collar-Bone, and cou'd not be kept up any otherwise, unless held up by the Hands of other People; and the poor Man never came to himself again, but languished near a Year in that Condition and died: Nor was he ever once seen to lift up his Eyes, or to look upon any particular Object.

I cannot undertake to give any other than a Summary of such Passages as these, because it was not possible to come at the Particulars, where sometimes the whole Families, where such Things happen'd, were carry'd off by the Distemper: But there were innumerable Cases of this Kind, which presented to the

the Eye, and the Ear; even in passing along the Streets, as I have hinted above, nor is it easy to give any Story of this, or that Family, which there was not divers parallel Stories to met with of the same Kind.

But as I am now talking of the Time, when the Plague rag'd at the Easter-most Part of the Town; how for a long Time the People of those Parts had flattered themselves that they should escape; and how they were surprized, when it came upon them as it did; for indeed, it came upon them like an armed Man, when it did come. I say, this brings me back to the three poor Men, who wandered from *Wapping*, not knowing whether to go, or what to do, and who I mention'd before; one a Biscuit-Baker, one a Sail-Maker, and the other a Joiner; all of *Wapping*, or thereabouts.

The Sleepiness and Security of that Part as I have observ'd, was such; that they not only did not shift for themselves as others did; but they boasted of being safe, and of Safety being with them; and many People fled out of the City, and out of the infected Suburbs, to *Wapping*, *Ratcliff*, *Lime-house*, *Poplar*, and such Places, as to Places of Security; and it is not at all unlikely, that their doing this, help'd to bring the Plague that way faster, than it might otherwise have come. For tho' I am much for Peoples flying away and emptying such a Town as this, upon the first Appearance of a like Visitation, and that all People that have any possible Retreat, should make use of it in Time, and begone; yet, I must say, when all that will fly are gone, those that are left and must stand it, should stand stock still where they are, and not shift from one End of the Town, or one Part of the Town to the other; for that is the Bane and Mischief of the whole, and they carry the Plague from House to House in their very Clothes.

Wherefore, were we ordered to kill all the Dogs and Cats: But because as they were domestick Animals,

mals, and are apt to run from House to House, and from Street to Street; so they are capable of carrying the Effluvia or Infectious Steams of Bodies infected, even in their Furrs and Hair; and therefore, it was that in the beginning of the Infection, an Order was published by the Lord Mayor, and by the Magistrates, according to the Advice of the Physicians; that all the Dogs and Cats should be imediately killed, and an Officer was appointed for the Execution.

It is incredible, if their Account is to be depended upon, what a prodigious Number of those Creatures were destroy'd: I think they talk'd of forty thousand Dogs, and five times as many Cats, few Houses being without a Cat, and some having several, and sometimes five or six in a House. All possible Endeavours were us'd also to destroy the Mice and Rats, especially the latter; by laying Rats-Bane, and other Poisons for them, and a prodigious multitude of them were also destroy'd.

I often reflected upon the unprovided Condition, that the whole Body of the People were in at the first coming of this Calamity upon them, and how it was for Want of timely entring into Measures, and Managements, as well publick as private, that all the Confusions that followed were brought upon us; and that such a prodigious Number of People sunk in that Disaster, which if proper Steps had been taken, might, Providence concurring, have been avoided, and which, if Posterity think fit, they may take a Caution, and Warning from: But I shall come to this Part again.

I come back to my three Men: Their Story has a Moral in every Part of it, and their whole Conduct, and that of some who they join'd with, is a Patern for all poor Men to follow, or Women either, if ever such a Time comes again; and if there was no other End in recording it, I thing this a very just one, whether my Account be exactly according to Fact or no.

Two of them are said to be Brothers, the one an old Soldier, but now a Biscuit Baker; the other a lame

lame Sailor, but now a Sail-Maker; the Third a Joiner. Says *John* the Biscuit Baker, one Day to *Thomas* his Brother, the Sail-maker, *Brother* Tom, *what will become of us? The Plague grows hot in the City, and encreases this way: What shall we do?*

Truly, says *Thomas*, *I am at a great Loss what to do, for I find, if it comes down into* Wapping, *I shall be turn'd out of my Lodging:* And thus they began to talk of it beforehand.

John, *Turn'd out of your Lodging*, Tom! *if you are, I don't know who will take you in; for People are so afraid of one another now, there's no getting a Lodging any where.*

Tho. *Why? The People where I lodge are good civil People, and have Kindness enough for me too; but they say I go abroad every Day to my Work, and it will be dangerous; and they talk of locking themselves up, and letting no Body come near them.*

John, *Why, they are in the right to be sure, if they resolve to venture staying in Town.*

Tho. *Nay, I might e'en resolve to stay within Doors too, for, except a Suit of Sails that my Master has in Hand, and which I am just a finishing, I am like to get no more Work a great while; there's no Trade stirs now; Workmen and Servants are turned off every where, so that I might be glad to be lock'd up too: But I do not see they will be willing to consent to that, any more than to the other.*

John, *Why, what will you do then Brother? and what shall I do? for I am almost as bad as you; the People where I lodge are all gone into the Country but a Maid, and she is to go next Week, and to shut the House quite up, so that I shall be turn'd a drift to the wide World before you, and I am resolved to go away too, if I knew but where to go.*

Tho. *We were both distracted we did not go away at first, then we might ha' travelled any where; there's no stirring now; we shall be starv'd if we pretend to go out of Town; they won't let us have Victuals, no, not for our Money, nor let us come into the Towns, much less into their Houses.*

John,

John, *And that which is almost as bad, I have but little Money to help my self with neither.*

Tho. *As to that we might make shift; I have a little, tho' not much; but I tell you there's no stirring on the Road. I know a Couple of poor honest Men in our Street have attempted to travel, and at* Barnet, *or* Whetston, *or there about, the People offered to fire at them if they pretended to go forward; so they are come back again quite discourag'd.*

John, *I would have ventured their Fire, if I had been there; If I had been denied Food for my Money they should ha' seen me take it before their Faces; and if I had tendred Money for it, they could not have taken any Course with me by Law.*

Tho. *You talk your old Soldier's Language, as if you were in the* Low-Countris *now, but this is a serious thing. The People have good Reason to keep any Body off, that they are not satisfied are sound, at such a Time as this; and we must not plunder them.*

John, *No Brother, you mistake the Case, and mistake me too, I would plunder no Body; but for any Town upon the Road to deny me Leave to pass thro' the Town in the open High-Way, and deny me Provisions for my Money, is to say the Town has a Right to starve me to Death, which cannot be true.*

Tho. *But they do not deny you Liberty to go back again from whence you came, and therefore they do not starve you.*

John, *But the next Town behind me will by the same Rule deny me leave to go back, and so they do starve me between them; besides there is no Law to prohibit my travelling wherever I will on the Road.*

Tho. *But there will be so much Difficulty in disputing with them at every Town on the Road, that it is not for poor Men to do it, or to undertake it at such a Time as this is especially.*

John, *Why Brother? Our Condition at this Rate is worse than any Bodies else; for we can neither go away nor stay here; I am of the same Mind with the Lepers of* Samaria, *If we stay here we are sure to die; I mean especially, as you and I are stated, without a Dwelling-House of our own,*

own, and without Lodging in any Bodies else; there is no lying in the Street at such a Time as this; we had as good go into the Dead Cart at once: Therefore I say, if we stay here we are sure to die, *and if we go away* we can but die: *I am resolv'd to be gone.*

Tho. *You will go away: Whither will you go? and what can you do? I would as willingly go away as you, if I knew whither: But we have no Acquaintance, no Friends. Here we were born, and here we must die.*

John, *Look you* Tom, *the whole Kingdom is my Native Country as well as this Town. You may as well say, I must not go out of my House if it is on Fire, as that I must not go out of the Town I was born in, when it is infected with the Plague. I was born in* England, *and have a Right to live in it if I can.*

Tho. *But you know every vagrant Person may by the Laws of* England, *be taken up, and pass'd back to their last legal Settlement.*

John, *But how shall they make me vagrant; I desire only to travel on, upon my lawful Occasions.*

Tho. *What lawful Occasions can we pretend to travel, or rather wander upon, they will not be put off with Words.*

John, *Is not flying to save our Lives, a Lawful Occasion! and do they not all know that the Fact is true: We cannot be said to dissemble.*

Tho. *But suppose they let us pass, Whither shall we go?*

John, *Any where to save our Lives: It is Time enough to consider that when we are got out of this Town. If I am once out of this dreadful Place I care not where I go.*

Tho. *We shall be driven to great Extremities. I know not what to think of it.*

John, *Well* Tom, *consider of it a little.*

This was about the Beginning of *July*, and tho' the Plague was come forward in the West and North Parts of the Town, yet all *Wapping*, as I have observed before, and *Redriff*, and *Ratcliff*, and *Lime-House*, and *Poplar*, in short, *Deptford* and *Greenwich*, all

all both Sides of the River from the the *Hermitage*, and from over againſt it, quite down to *Blackwall*, was intirely free, there had not one Perſon died of the Plague in all *Stepney* Pariſh, and not one on the South Side of *White Chappel* Road, no, not in any Pariſh; and yet the Weekly Bill was that very Week riſen up to 1006.

It was a Fortnight after this, before the the two Brothers met again, and then the Caſe was a little altered, and the Plague was exceedingly advanced, and the Number greatly encreaſed, the Bill was up at 2785, and prodigiouſly encreaſing, tho' ſtill both Sides of the River, as below, kept pretty well: But ſome began to die in *Redriff*, and about five or ſix in *Ratclif-High-Way*, when the Sail Maker came to his Brother *John*, expreſs, and in ſome Fright, for he was abſolutely warn'd out of his Lodging, and had only a Week to provide himſelf. His Brother *John* was in as bad a Caſe, for he was quite out, and had only beg'd Leave of his Maſter the Biſcuit Baker to lodge in an Out-Houſe belonging to his Work-houſe, where he only lay upon Straw, with ſome Biſcuit Sacks, or Bread-Sacks, as they call'd them, laid upon it, and ſome of the ſame Sacks to cover him.

Here they reſolved, ſeeing all Employment being at an End, and no Work, or Wages to he had, they would make the beſt of their Way to get out of the Reach of the dreadful Infection; and being as good Husbands as they could, would endeavour to live upon what they had as long as it would laſt, and then work for more, if they could get Work any where, of any Kind, let it be what it would.

While they were conſidering to put this Reſolution in Practice, in the beſt Manner they could, the third Man, who was acquainted very well with the Sail Maker, came to know of the Deſign, and got Leave to be one of the Number, and thus they prepared to ſet out.

It

It happened that they had not an equal ſhare of Money, but as the Sail-maker, who had the beſt Stock, was beſides his being Lame, the moſt unfit to expect to get any thing by Working in the Country, ſo he was content that what Money they had ſhould all go into one publick Stock, on Condition, that whatever any one of them could gain more than another, it ſhould, without any grudging, be all added to the ſame publick Stock.

They reſolv'd to load themſelves with as little Baggage as poſſible, becauſe they reſolv'd at firſt to travel on Foot; and to go a great way, that they might, if poſſible, be effectually Safe; and a great many Conſultations they had with themſelves, before they could agree about what Way they ſhould travel, which they were ſo far from adjuſting, that even to the Morning they ſet out, they were not reſolv'd on it.

At laſt the Seaman put in a Hint that determin'd it; Firſt, ſays he, the Weather is very hot, and therefore I am for travelling North, that we may not have the Sun upon our Faces and beating on our Breaſts, which will heat and ſuffocate us; and I have been told, ſays he, that it is not good to over-heat our Blood at a Time when, for ought we know, the Infection may be in the very Air. In the next Place, ſays he, I am for going the Way that may be contrary to the Wind as it may blow when we ſet out, that we may not have the Wind blow the Air of the City on our Backs as we go. Theſe two Cautions were approv'd of; if it could be brought ſo to hit, that the Wind might not be in the South when they ſet out to go North.

John the Baker, who had been a Soldier, then put in his Opinion; Firſt, ſays he, we none of us expect to get any Lodging on the Road, and it will be a little too hard to lie juſt in the open Air; tho' it be warm Weather, yet it may be wet,

and damp, and we have a double Reaſon to take care of our Healths at ſuch a time as this; and therefore, ſays he, you, Brother *Tom.* that are a Sail-maker, might eaſily make us a little Tent, and I will undertake to ſet it up every Night, and take it down, and a Fig for all the Inns in *England*; if we have a good Tent over our Heads, we ſhall do well enough.

The Joyner oppos'd this, and told them, let them leave that to him, he would undertake to build them a Houſe every Night with his Hatchet and Maller, tho' he had no other Tools, which ſhould be fully to their ſatisfaction, and as good as a Tent.

The Soldier and the Joyner diſputed that Point ſome time, but at laſt the Soldier carry'd it for a Tent; the only Objection againſt it was, that it muſt be carry'd with them, and that would encreaſe their Baggage too much, the Weather heing hot; but the Sail-maker had a piece of good Hap fell in which made that eaſie, for, his Maſter who he work'd for having a Rope-Walk as well as his Sail-making Trade, had a little poor Horſe that he made no uſe of then, and being willing to aſſiſt the three honeſt Men, he gave them the Horſe for the carrying their Baggage; alſo for a ſmall Matter of three Days Work that his Man did for him before he went, he let him have an old Top-gallant Sail that was worn out, but was ſufficient and more than enough to make a very good Tent: The Soldier ſhew'd how to ſhape it, and they ſoon by his Direction made their Tent, and fitted it with Poles or Staves for the purpoſe, and thus they were furniſh'd for their Journey; *viz.* three Men, one Tent, one Horſe, one Gun, for the Soldier would not go without Arms, for now he ſaid he was no more a Biſcuit-Baker, but a Trooper.

The Joyner had a ſmall Bag of Tools, ſuch as might be uſeful if he ſhould get any Work abroad, as well for their Subſiſtence as his own: What Money they had

had, they brought all into one publick Stock, and thus they began their Journey. It seems that in the Morning when they set out, the Wind blew as the Saylor said by his Pocket Compass, at N. W. by W. So they directed, or rather resolv'd to direct their Course N. W.

But then a Difficulty came in their Way, that as they set out from the hither end of *Wapping* near the *Hermitage*, and that the Plague was now very Violent, especially on the North side of the City, as in *Shoreditch* and *Cripplegate* Parish, they did not think it safe for them to go near those Parts; so they went away East through *Radcliff* High-way, as far as *Radcliff-Cross*, and leaving *Stepney* Church still on their Left-hand, being afraid to come up from *Radcliff-Cross* to *Mile-end*, because they must come just by the Church-yard, and because the Wind that seemed to blow more from the West, blow'd directly from the side of the City where the Plague was hottest. So I say, leaving *Stepney*, they fetched a long Compass, and going to *Poplar* and *Bromley*, came into the great Road just at *Bow*.

Here the Watch plac'd upon *Bow* Bridge would have question'd them; but they crossing the Road into a narrow Way that turns out at the hither End of the Town of *Bow* to *Old-Ford*, avoided any Enquiry there, and travelled to *Old-Ford*. The Constables every where were upon their Guard, not so much it seems to stop People passing by, as to stop them from taking up their Abode in their Towns, and withal because of a Report that was newly rais'd at that time, and that indeed was not very improbable, *viz.* That the poor People in *London* being distress'd and starv'd for want of Work, and by that means for want of Bread, were up in Arms, and had raised a Tumult, and that they would come out to all the Towns round to plunder for Bread. This, I say, was only a Rumour, and it was very well it

was no more; but it was not so far off from being a Reality, as it has been thought, for in a few Weeks more the poor People became so Desperate by the Calamity they suffer'd, that they were with great difficulty kept from running out into the Fields and Towns, and tearing all in pieces where-ever they came; and, as I have observed before, nothing hinder'd them but that the Plague rag'd so violently, and fell in upon them so furiously, that they rather went to the Grave by Thousands than into the Fields in Mobs by Thousands: For in the Parts about the Parishes of St. *Sepulchres*, *Clerkenwell*, *Cripplegate*, *Bishopsgate* and *Shoreditch*, which were the Places where the Mob began to threaten, the Distemper came on so furiously, that there died in those few Parishes, even then, before the Plague was come to its height, no less than 5361 People in the first three Weeks in *August*, when at the same time, the Parts about *Wapping*, *Radcliffe*, and *Rotherhith*, were, as before describ'd, hardly touch'd, or but very lightly; so that in a Word, tho', as I said before, the good Management of the Lord Mayor and Justices did much to prevent the Rage and Desperation of the People from breaking out in Rabbles and Tumults, and in short, from the Poor plundering the Rich; I say, tho' they did much, the Dead Carts did more, for as I have said, that in five Parishes only there died above 5000 in 20 Days, so there might be probably three times that Number Sick all that time; for some recovered, and great Numbers fell sick every Day and died afterwards. Besides, I must still be allowed to say, that if the Bills of Mortality said five Thousand, I always believ'd it was near twice as many in reality; there being no room to believe that the Account they gave was right, or that indeed, they were, among such Confusions as I saw them in, in any Condition to keep an exact Account.

But

But to return to my Travellers; Here they were only examined, and as they seemed rather coming from the Country than from the City, they found the People the easier with them; that they talk'd to them, let them come into a publick House where the Constable and his Warders were, and gave them Drink and some Victuals, which greatly refreshed and encourag'd them; and here it came into their Heads to say, when they should be enquir'd of afterwards, not that they came from *London*, but that they came out of *Essex*.

To forward this little Fraud, they obtain'd so much Favour of the Constable at *Old-Ford*, as to give them a Certificate of their passing from *Essex* thro' that Village, and that they had not been at *London*; which tho' false in the common acceptation of *London* in the County, yet was literally true; *Wapping* or *Radcliff* being no part either of the City or Liberty.

This Certificate directed to the next Constable that was at *Hummerton*, one of the Hamlets of the Parish of *Hackney*, was so serviceable to them, that it procured them not a free Passage there only, but a full Certificate of Health from a Justice of the Peace; who, upon the Constable's Application, granted it without much Difficulty; and thus they pass'd through the long divided Town of *Hackney*, (for it lay then in several separated Hamlets) and travelled on till they came into the great North Road on the top of *Stamford-Hill*.

By this time they began to be weary, and so in the back Road from *Hackney* a little before it opened into the said great Road, they resolv'd to set up their Tent and encamp for the first Night; which they did accordingly, with this addition, that finding a Barn, or a Building like a Barn, and first searching as well as they could to be sure there was no Body in it, they set up their Tent, with the Head of it against the Barn; this they did also because the Wind blew

that Night very high, and they were but young at such a way of Lodging, as well as at the managing their Tent.

Here they went to Sleep, but the Joyner, a grave and sober Man, and not pleased with their lying at this loose rate the first Night, could not sleep, and resolv'd, after trying to Sleep to no purpose, that he would get out, and taking the Gun in his Hand stand Centinel and Guard his Companions: So with the Gun in his Hand he walk'd to and again before the Barn, for that stood in the Field near the Road, but within the Hedge. He had not been long upon the Scout, but he heard a Noise of People coming on as if it had been a great Number, and they came on, as he thought, directly towards the Barn. He did not presently awake his Companions, but in a few Minutes more their Noise growing louder and louder, the Biscuit-Baker call'd to him and ask'd him what was the Matter, and quickly started out too: The other being the Lame Sail-maker and most weary, lay still in the Tent.

As they expected, so the People who they had heard, came on directly to the Barn, when one of our Travellers challenged, like Soldiers upon the Guard, with *Who comes there?* The People did not Answer immediately, but one of them speaking to another that was behind him, *Alas! Alas! we are all disappointed*, says *he*, *here are some People before us, the Barn is taken up.*

They all stopp'd upon that as under some Surprize, and it seems there was about Thirteen of them in all, and some Women among them: They consulted together what they should do, and by their Discourse our Travellers soon found they were poor distress'd People too like themselves, seeking Shelter and Safety; and besides, our Travellers had no need to be afraid of their coming up to disturb them; for as soon as they heard the Words, *Who comes*

comes there, these could hear the Women say, *as if frighted, Do not go near them, how do you know but they may have the Plague?* And when one of the Men said, *Let us but speak to them*; the Women said, *No, don't by any means, we have escap'd thus far* by the Goodness of God, *do not let us run into Danger now, we beseech you.*

Our Travellers found by this that they were a good sober sort of People and flying for their Lives as they were; and, as they were encourag'd by it, so *John* said to the Joyner his Comrade, *Let us Encourage them too as much as we can*: So he called to them, *Hark ye good People* says the Joyner, we find by your Talk, that you are fleeing from the same dreadful Enemy as we are, do not be afraid of us, we are only three poor Men of us, if you are free from the Distemper you shall not be hurt by us; we are not in the Barn, but in a little Tent here in the outside, and we will remove for you, we can set up our Tent again immediately any where else; and upon this a Parly began between the Joyner, whose Name was *Richard*, and one of their Men, who said his Name was *Ford*.

Ford. And do you assure us that you are all Sound Men.

Rich. Nay, we are concern'd to tell you of it, that you may not be uneasy, or think your selves in Danger; but you see we do not desire you should put your selves into any Danger; and therefore I tell you, that as we have not made use of the Barn, so we will remove from it, that you may be Safe and we also.

Ford. That is very kind and charitable; But, if we have Reason to be satisfied that you are Sound and free from the Visitation, why should we make you remove now you are settled in your Lodging, and it may be are laid down to Rest? we will go into the Barn if you please, to rest our selves a while, and we need not disturb you.

Rich. Well, but you are more than we are, I hope you will assure us that you are all of you Sound too, for the Danger is as great from you to us, as from us to you.

Ford. Blessed be God that some do escape tho' it is but few; what may be our Portion still we know not, but hitherto we are preserved.

Rich. What part of the Town do you come from? Was the Plague come to the Places where you liv'd?

Ford. Ay ay, in a most frightful and terrible manner, or else we had not fled away as we do; but we believe there will be very few left alive behind us.

Rich. What Part do you come from?

Ford. We are most of us of *Cripplegate* Parish, only two or three of *Clerkenwell* Parish, but on the hither side.

Rich. How then was it that you came away no sooner?

Ford. We have been away some time, and kept together as well as we could at the hither End of *Islington*, where we got leave to lie in an old uninhabited House, and had some Bedding and Conveniencies of our own that we brought with us, but the Plague is come up into *Islington* too, and a House next Door to our poor Dwelling was Infected and shut up, and we are come away in a Fright.

Rich. And what Way are you going?

Ford. As our Lott shall cast us, we know not whither, but God will Guide those that look up to him.

They parlied no further at that time, but came all up to the Barn, and with some Difficulty got into it: There was nothing but Hay in the Barn, but it was almost full of that, and they accommodated themselves as well as they cou'd, and went to Rest; but our Travellers observ'd, that before they went to Sleep, an antient Man, who it seems was

Father

Father of one of the Women, went to Prayer with all the Company, recommending themſelves to the Bleſſing and Direction of Providence, before they went to Sleep.

It was ſoon Day at that time of the Year; and as *Richard* the Joyner had kept Guard the firſt part of the Night, ſo *John* the Soldier Reliev'd him, and he had the Poſt in the Morning, and they began to be acquainted with one another. It ſeems, when they left *Iſlington*, they intended to have gone North away to *Highgate*, but were ſtop'd at *Holloway*, and there they would not let them paſs; ſo they croſs'd over the Fields and Hills to the Eaſtward, and came out at the *Boarded-River*, and ſo avoiding the Towns, they left *Hornſey* on the left Hand, and *Newington* on the right Hand, and came into the great Road about *Stamford-Hill* on that ſide, as the three Travellers had done on the other ſide: And now they had Thoughts of going over the River in the Marſhes, and make forwards to *Epping* Foreſt, where they hoped they ſhould get leave to Reſt. It ſeems they were not Poor, at leaſt not ſo Poor as to be in Want; at leaſt they had enough to ſubſiſt them moderately for two or three Months, when, as they ſaid, they were in Hopes the cold Weather would check the Infection, or at leaſt the Violence of it would have ſpent itſelf, and would abate, if it were only for want of People left alive to be Infected.

This was much the Fate of our three Travellers; only that they ſeemed to be the better furniſh'd for Travelling, and had it in their View to go further off; for as to the firſt, they did not propoſe to go farther than one Day's Journey, that ſo they might have Intelligence every two or three Days how Things were at *London*.

But here our Travellers found themſelves under an unexpected Inconvenience namely, that of their Horſe, for by means of the Horſe to carry their Baggage, they were obliged to keep in

keep in the Road, whereas the People of this other Band went over the Fields or Roads, Path or no Path, Way, or no Way, as they pleased; neither had they any Occasion to pass thro' any Town, or come near any Town, other than to buy such Things as they wanted for their necessary Subsistence, and in that indeed they were put to much Difficulty: Of which in its Place.

But our three Travellers were oblig'd to keep the Road, or else they must commit Spoil and do the Country a great deal of Damage in breaking down Fences and Gates, to go over enclosed Fields, which they were loth to do if they could help it.

Our three Travellers however had a great Mind to join themselves to this Company, and take their Lot with them; and after some Discourse, they laid aside their first Design which look'd Northward, and resolv'd to follow the other into *Essex*; so in the Morning they took up their Tent and loaded their Horse, and away they travelled all together.

They had some Difficulty in passing the Ferry at the River side, the Ferry-Man being afraid of them; but after some Parly at a Distance, the Ferry-Man was content to bring his Boat to a Place distant from the usual Ferry, and leave it there for them to take it; so putting themselves over, he directed them to leave the Boat, and he having another Boat, said he would fetch it again, which it seems however he did not do for above Eight Days.

Here giving the Ferry-Man Money before-hand, they had a supply of Victuals and Drink, which he brought and left in the Boat for them, but not without, as I said, having receiv'd the Mony before-hand. But now our Travellers were at a great Loss and Difficulty how to get the Horse over, the Boat being small and not fit for it, and at last cou'd not do it without unloading the Baggage, and making him swim over.

From

From the River they travelled towards the Foreſt, but when they came to *Walthamſtow* the People of that Town denied to admit them, as was the Caſe every where: The Conſtables and their Watchmen kept them off at a Diſtance, and Parly'd with them; they gave the ſame Account of themſelves as before, but theſe gave no Credit to what they ſaid, giving it for a Reaſon that two or three Companies had already come that Way and made the like Pretences, but that they had given ſeveral People the Diſtemper in the Towns where they had paſs'd, and had been afterwards ſo hardly us'd by the Country, tho' with Juſtice too, as they had deſerv'd; that about *Brent-Wood* or that Way, ſeveral of them Periſh'd in the Fields, whether of the Plague, or of mere Want and Diſtreſs, they could not tell.

This was a good Reaſon indeed why the People of *Walthamſtow* ſhou'd be very cautious, and why they ſhou'd reſolve not to entertain any Body that they were not well ſatisfied of. But as *Richard* the Joyner, and one of the other Men who parly'd with them told them, it was no Reaſon why they ſhould block up the Roads, and refuſe to let People paſs thro' the Town, and who ask'd nothing of them, but to go through the Street: That if their People were afraid of them, they might go into their Houſes and ſhut their Doors, they would neither ſhow them Civility nor Incivility, but go on about their Buſineſs.

The Conſtables and Attendants, not to be perſwaded by Reaſon, continued Obſtinate, and wou'd hearken to nothing; ſo the two Men that talk'd with them went back to their Fellows, to conſult what was to be done: It was very diſcouraging in the whole, and they knew not what to do for a good while: But at laſt *John* the Soldier and Biſcuit-Baker conſidering a-while, Come, ſays he, leave the reſt of the Parly to me; he had not appear'd yet, ſo he ſets the Joyner *Richard* to Work to cut ſome Poles

out

out of the Trees, and ſhape them as like Guns as he could, and in a little time he had five or ſix fair Muskets, which at a Diſtance would not be known; and about the Part where the Lock of a Gun is he cauſed them to wrap Cloths and Rags, ſuch as they had, as Soldiers do in wet Weather, to preſerve the Locks of their Pieces from Ruſt, the reſt was diſcolour'd with Clay or Mud, ſuch as they could get; and all this while the reſt of them ſat under the Trees by his Direction, in two or three Bodies, where they made Fires at a good Diſtance from one another.

While this was doing, he advanc'd himſelf and two or three with him, and ſet up their Tent in the Lane within ſight of the Barrier which the Town's Men had made, and ſet a Centinel juſt by it with the real Gun, the only one they had, and who walked to and fro with the Gun on his Shoulder, ſo as that the People of the Town might ſee them; alſo he ty'd the Horſe to a Gate in the Hedge juſt by, and got ſome dry Sticks together and kindled a Fire on the other ſide of the Tent, ſo that the People of the Town cou'd ſee the Fire and the Smoak, but cou'd not ſee what they were doing at it.

After the Country People had look'd upon them very earneſtly a great while, and by all that they could ſee, cou'd not but ſuppoſe that they were a great many in Company, they began to be uneaſie, not for their going away, but for ſtaying where they were; and above all perceiving they had Horſes and Arms, for they had ſeen one Horſe and one Gun at the Tent, and they had ſeen others of them walk about the Field on the inſide of the Hedge, by the ſide of the Lane with their Muskets, as they took them to be, Shoulder'd: I ſay, upon ſuch a Sight as this, you may be aſſured they were Alarm'd and terribly Frighted; and it ſeems they went to a Juſtice of the Peace to know what they ſhould do; what the Juſtice adviſ'd them to I know not, but

but towards Evening they call'd from the Barrier, as above, to the Centinel at the Tent.

What do ye want? ſays *John* *

Why, what do ye intend to do? ſays the Conſtable.

To do, ſays John, *What wou'd you have us to do?*

Conſt. Why don't you be gone? what do you ſtay there for?

John. Why do you ſtop us on the King's Highway, and pretend to refuſe us Leave to go on our Way?

Conſt. We are not bound to tell you our Reaſon, though we did let you know, it was becauſe of the Plague.

John. We told you we were all ſound, and free from the Plague, which we were not bound to have ſatisfied you of, and yet you pretend to ſtop us on the Highway.

Conſt. We have a Right to ſtop it up, and our own Safety obliges us to it; beſides this is not the King's Highway, 'tis a Way upon Sufferance; you ſee here is a Gate, and if we do let People paſs here, we make them pay Toll?

John. We have a Right to ſeek our own Safety as well as you, and you may ſee we are flying for our Lives, and 'tis very unchriſtian and unjuſt to ſtop us.

Conſt. You may go back from whence you came; we do not hinder you from that.

John. No, it is a ſtronger Enemy than you that keeps us from doing that; or elſe we ſhould not ha' come hither.

Conſt. Well, you may go any other way then.

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* It ſeems *John* was in the Tent, but hearing them call he ſteps out, and taking the Gun upon his Shoulder, talk'd to them as if he had been the Centinel plac'd there upon the Guard by ſome Officer that was his Superior.

John.

John. No, no: I suppose you see we are able to send you going, and all the People of your Parish, and come thro' your Town, when we will; but since you have stopt us here, we are content; you see, we have encamp'd here, and here we will live: we hope you will furnish us with Victuals.

Const. We furnish you! What mean you by that?

John. Why you would not have us Starve, would you? If you stop us here, you must keep us.

Const. You will be ill kept at our Maintenance.

John. If you stint us, we shall make ourselves the better Allowance.

Const. Why you will not pretend to quarter upon us by Force, will you?

John. We have offer'd no Violence to you yet, why do you seem to oblige us to it? I am an old Soldier, and cannot starve, and if you think that we shall be obliged to go back for want of Provisions, you are mistaken.

Const. Since you threaten us, we shall take Care to be strong enough for you: I have Orders to raise the County upon you.

John. It is you that threaten, not we: And since you are for Mischief, you cannot blame us, if we do not give you time for it; we shall begin our March in a few Minutes. *

Const. What is it you demand of us?

John. At first we desir'd nothing of you, but Leave to go thro' the Town; we should have offer'd no Injury to any of you, neither would you have had any Injury or Loss by us. We are not Thieves, but poor People in distress, and flying from the dreadful

* This frighted the Constable and the People that were with him, that they immediately chang'd their Note.

Plague

Plague in *London*,, which devours thouſands every Week: We wonder how you could be ſo unmerciful!

Conſt. Self-preſervation obliges us.

John. What! to ſhut up your Compaſſion in a Caſe of ſuch Diſtreſs as this?

Conſt. Well, if you will paſs over the Fields on your Left-hand, and behind that part of the Town, I will endeavour to have Gates open'd for you.

John. Our Horſemen cannot * paſs with our Baggage that Way; it does not lead into the Road that we want to go; and why ſhould you force us out of the Road? beſides, you have kept us here all Day without any Proviſions, but ſuch as we brought with us; I think you ought to ſend us ſome Proviſions for our Relief.

Conſt. If you will go another Way, we will ſend you ſome Proviſions.

John. That is the way to have all the Towns in the County ſtop up the Ways againſt us.

Conſt. If they all furniſh you with Food, what will you be the worſe, I ſee you have Tents, you want no Lodging.

John. Well, what quantity of Proviſions will you ſend us?

Conſt. How many are you?

John. Nay, we do not ask enough for all our Company, we are in three Companies; if you will ſend us Bread for twenty Men, and about ſix or ſeven Women for three Days, and ſhew us the Way over the Field you ſpeak of, we deſire not to put your People into any fear for us, we will go out of our Way to oblige you, tho' we are as free from Infection as you are.

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* They had but one Horſe among them.

Conſt.

Conſt. And will you aſſure us that your other People ſhall offer us no new Diſturbance.

John. No, no, you may depend on it.

Conſt. You muſt oblige your ſelf too that none of your People ſhall come a ſtep nearer than where the Proviſions we ſend you ſhall be ſet down.

John. I anſwer for it we will not.

Accordingly they ſent to the Place twenty Loaves of Bread, and three or four large pieces of good Beef, and opened ſome Gates thro' which they paſs'd, but none of them had Courage ſo much as to look out to ſee them go, and, as it was Evening, if they had looked they cou'd not have ſeen them ſo as to know how few they were.

This was *John* the Soldier's Management. But this gave ſuch an Alarm to the County, that had they really been two or three Hundred, the whole County would have been rais'd upon them, and they wou'd ha' been ſent to Priſon, or perhaps knock'd on the Head.

They were ſoon made ſenſible of this, for two Days afterwards they found ſeveral Parties of Horſemen and Footmen alſo about, in purſuit of three Companies of Men arm'd, *as they ſaid*, with Muskets, who were broke out from *London*, and had the Plague upon them: and that were not only ſpreading the Diſtemper among the People, but plundering the Country.

As they ſaw now the Conſequence of their Caſe, they ſoon ſee the Danger they were in, ſo they reſolv'd by the Advice alſo of the old Soldier, to divide themſelves again. *John* and his two Com-

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* Here he call'd to one of his Men, and bade him order Capt. *Richard* and his People to March the Lower Way on the ſide of the Marſhes, and meet them in the Foreſt; which was all a Sham, for they had no Captain *Richard*, or any ſuch Company.

rades

rades with the Horſe, went away as if towards *Waltham*; the other in two Companies, but all a little aſunder, and went towards *Epping*.

The firſt Night they Encamp'd all in the Foreſt, and not far off of one another, but not ſetting up the Tent, leſt that ſhould diſcover them: On the other hand *Richard* went to work with his Axe and his Hatchet, and cutting down Branches of Trees, he built three Tents or Hovels, in which they all Encamp'd with as much Convenience as they could expect.

The Proviſions thy had had at *Walthamſtow* ſerv'd them very plentifully this Night, and as for the next they left it to Providence; they had far'd ſo well with the old Soldier's Conduct, that they now willingly made him their Leader; and the firſt of his Conduct appear'd to be very good: He told them that they were now at a proper Diſtance enough from *London*; that as they need not be immediately beholden to the County for Relief, ſo they ought to be as careful the Country did not infect them, as that they did not infect the Country; that what little Money they had they muſt be as frugal of as they could; that as he would not have them think of offering the Country any Violence, ſo they muſt endeavour to make the Senſe of their Condition go as far with the Country as it could: They all referr'd themſelves to his Direction; ſo they left their 3 Houſes ſtanding, and the next Day went away towards *Epping*; the Captain alſo, for ſo they now called him, and his two Fellow Travellers laid aſide their Deſign of going to *Waltham*, and all went together.

When they came near *Epping* they halted, chooſing out a proper Place in the open Foreſt, not very near the High-way, but not far out of it on the North-ſide, under a little cluſter of low Pollard-Trees: Here they pitched their little Camp, which conſiſted of three large Tents or Hutts made of Poles, which their Carpenter, and ſuch as were his

Assistants, cut down and fix'd in the Ground in a Circle, binding all the small Ends together at the Top, and thickning the sides with Boughs of Trees and Bushes, so that they were compleatly close and warm. They had besides this, a little Tent where the Women lay by themselves, and a Hutt to put the Horse in.

It happened that the next day, or next but one was Market-day at *Epping*; when Capt. *John*, and one of the other Men, went to Market, and bought some Provisions, that is to say Bread, and some Mutton and Beef; and two of the Women went separately, as if they had not belong'd to the rest, and bought more. *John* took the Horse to bring it Home, and the Sack (which the Carpenter carry'd his Tools in) to put it in: The Carpenter went to Work and made them Benches and Stools to sit on, such as the Wood he cou'd get wou'd afford, and a kind of a Table to dine on.

They were taken no Notice of for two or three Days, but after that, abundance of People ran out of the Town to look at them, and all the Country was alarmed about them. The People at first seem'd afraid to come near them, and on the other Hand they desir'd the People to keep off, for there was a Rumour that the Plague was at *Waltham*, and that it had been in *Epping* two or three Days. So *John* called out to them not to come to them, *For*, says he, *we are all whole and sound People here, and we would not have you bring the Plague among us, nor pretend we brought it among you.*

After this the Parish Officers came up to them and parly'd with them at a Distance, and desir'd to know who they were, and by what Authority they pretended to fix their Stand at that Place? *John* answered very frankly, they were poor distressed People from *London*, who foreseeing the Misery they should be reduc'd to, if the Plague spread into the City,

City, had fled out in time for their Lives, and having no Acquaintance or Relations to fly to, had first taken up at *Islington*, but the Plague being come into that Town, were fled further, and as they supposed that the People of *Epping* might have refus'd them coming into their Town, they had pitch'd their Tents thus in the open Field, and in the Forest, being willing to bear all the Hardships of such a disconsolate Lodging, rather than have any one think or be afraid that they should receive Injury by them.

At first the *Epping* People talk'd roughly to them, and told them they must remove; that this was no Place for them; and that they pretended to be Sound and Well, but that they might be infected with the Plague for ought they knew, and might infect the whole Country, and they cou'd not suffer them there.

John argu'd very calmly with them a great while, 'and told them, 'That *London* was the Place by 'which they, that is, the Townsmen of *Epping* and 'all the Country round them, subsisted; to whom 'they sold the produce of their Lands, and out of 'whom they made the Rent of their Farms; and 'to be so cruel to the Inhabitants of *London*, or 'to any of those by whom they gain'd so much 'was very hard, and they would be loth to have 'it remembered hereafter, and have it told how 'barbarous, how unhospitable and how unkind 'they were to the People of *London*, when they 'fled from the Face of the most terrible Enemy 'in the World; that it would be enough to make 'the Name of an *Epping*-Man hateful thro' all the 'City, and to have the Rabble Stone them in the 'very Streets, whenever they came so much as to 'Market; that they were not yet secure from being 'Visited themselves, and that as he heard, *Waltham* 'was already; that they would think it very hard

'that when any of them fled for Fear before 'they were touch'd, they ſhould be deny'd the 'Liberty of lying ſo much as in the open Fields.

The *Epping* Men told them again, That they, indeed, ſaid they were ſound and free from the Infection, but that they had no aſſurance of it; and that it was reported, that there had been a great Rabble of People at *Walthamſtow*, who made ſuch Pretences of being ſound, as they did, but that they threaten'd to plunder the Town, and force their Way whether the Pariſh Officers would or no; That they were near 200 of them, and had Arms and Tents like Low-Country Soldiers; that they extorted Proviſions from the Town by threatning them with living upon them at free Quarter, ſhewing their Arms, and talking in the Language of Soldiers; and that ſeveral of them being gone away towards *Rumford* and *Brent-Wood*, the Country had been infected by them, and the Plague ſpread into both thoſe large Towns, ſo that the People durſt not go to Market there as uſual; that it was very likely they were ſome of that Party, and if ſo, they deſerv'd to be ſent to the County Jail, and be ſecur'd till they had made Satisfaction for the Damage they had done, and for the Terror and Fright they had put the Country into.

John anſwered, That what other People had done was nothing to them; that he aſſured them they were all of one Company; that they had never been more in Number than they ſaw them at that time; (which by the way was very true) that they came out in two ſeperate Companies, but joyn'd by the Way, their Caſes being the ſame; that they were ready to give what Account of themſelves any Body cou'd deſire of them, and to give in their Names and Places of Abode, that ſo they might be call'd to an Account for any Diſorder that they might be guilty of; that the Townſmen might

might see they were content to live hardly, and only desir'd a little Room to breath in on the Forest where it was wholsome, for where it was not they cou'd not stay, and wou'd decamp if they found it otherwise there.

But, said the Townsmen, we have a great charge of Poor upon our Hands already, and we must take care not to encrease it; we suppose you can give us no Security against your being chargeable to our Parish and to the Inhabitants, any more than you can of being dangerous to us as to the Infection.

'Why look you, *says John*, as to being chargeable to you, we hope we shall not; if you will relieve us with Provisions for our present Necessity, we will be very thankful; as we all liv'd without Charity when we were at Home, so we will oblige ourselves fully to repay you, if God please to bring us back to our own Families and Houses in Safety, and to restore Health to the People of *London*.

'As to our dying here, we assure you, if any of us die, we that survive, will bury them, and put you to no Expence, except it should be that we should all die, and then indeed the last Man not being able to bury himself, would put you to that single Expence, which I am perswaded, says *John*, he would leave enough behind him to pay you for the Expence of.

'On the other Hand, says *John*, if you will shut up all Bowels of Compassion and not relieve us at all, we shall not extort any thing by Violence, or steal from any one; but when what little we have is spent, if we perish for want, God's Will be done.

John wrought so upon the Townsmen by talking thus rationally and smoothly to them, that they went away; and tho' they did not give any consent to their staying there, yet they did not molest them;

and the poor People continued there three or four Days longer without any Disturbance. In this time they had got some remote Acquaintance with a Victualling-House at the out-skirts of the Town, to whom they called at a Distance to bring some little Things that they wanted, and which they caus'd to to be set down at a Distance, and always paid for very honestly.

During this Time, the younger People of the Town came frequently pretty near them, and wou'd stand and look at them, and sometimes talk with them at some Space between; and particularly it was observed, that the first Sabbath Day the poor People kept retir'd, worship'd God together, and were heard to sing Psalms.

These Things and a quiet inoffensive Behaviour, began to get them the good Opinion of the Country, and People began to pity them and speak very well of them; the Consequence of which was, that upon the occasion of a very wet rainy Night, a certain Gentleman who liv'd in the Neighbourhood, sent them a little Cart with twelve Trusses or Bundles of Straw, as well for them to lodge upon, as to cover and thatch their Huts, and to keep them dry: The Minister of a Parish not far off, not knowing of the other, sent them also about two Bushels of Wheat, and half a Bushel of white Peas.

They were very thankful to-be-sure for this Relief, and particularly the Straw was a very great Comfort to them; for tho' the ingenious Carpenter had made Frames for them to lie in like Troughs, and fill'd them with Leaves of Trees, and such Things as they could get, and had cut all their Tent-cloth out to make them Coverlids, yet they lay damp, and hard, and unwholesome till this Straw came, which was to them like Feather-beds, and, as *John* said, more welcome than Feather-beds wou'd ha' been at another time.

This

This Gentleman and the Minister having thus begun and given an Example of Charity to these Wanderers, others quickly followed, and they receiv'd every Day some Benevolence or other from the People, but chiefly from the Gentlemen who dwelt in the Country round about; some sent them Chairs, Stools, Tables, and such Houshold Things as they gave Notice they wanted; some sent them Blankets, Rugs and Coverlids; some Earthen-ware; and some Kitchin-ware for ordering their Food.

Encourag'd by this good Usage, their Carpenter in a few Days, built them a large Shed or House with Rafters, and a Roof in Form, and an upper Floor in which they lodged warm, for the Weather began to be damp and cold in the beginning of *September*; But this House being very well Thatch'd, and the Sides and Roof made very thick, kept out the Cold well enough: He made also an earthen Wall at one End, with a Chimney in it; and another of the Company, with a vast deal of Trouble and Pains, made a Funnel to the Chimney to carry out the Smoak.

Here they liv'd very comfortably, tho' coarsely, till the beginning of *September*, when they had the bad News to hear, whether true or not, that the Plague, which was very hot at *Waltham-Abby* on one side, and at *Rumford* and *Brent-Wood* on the other side; was also come to *Epping*, to *Woodford*, and to most of the Towns upon the Forest, and which, as they said, was brought down among them chiefly by the Higlers and such People as went to and from *London* with Provisions.

If this was true, it was an evident Contradiction to that Report which was afterwards spread all over *England*, but which, *as I have said*, I cannot confirm of my own Knowledge, namely, That the Market People carrying Provisions to the City, never got the Infec-

tion or carry'd it back into the Country; both which I have been assured, has been false.

It might be that they were preserv'd even beyond Expectation, though not to a Miracle, that abundance went and come, and were not touch'd, and that was much for the Encouragement of the poor People of *London*, who had been compleatly miserable, if the People that brought Provisions to the Markets had not been many times wonderfully preserv'd, or at least more preserv'd than cou'd be reasonably expected.

But now these new Inmates began to be disturb'd more effectually, for the Towns about them were really infected, and they began to be afraid to trust one another so much as to go abroad for such things as they wanted, and this pinch'd them very hard; for now they had little or nothing but what the charitable Gentlemen of the Country supply'd them with: But for their Encouragement it happen'd, that other Gentlemen in the Country who had not sent 'em any thing before, began to hear of them and supply them, and one sent them a large Pig, that is to say a Porker; another two Sheep; and another sent them a Calf: In short, they had Meat enough, and, sometimes had Cheese and Milk, and all such things; They were chiefly put to it for Bread, for when the Gentlemen sent them Corn they had no where to bake it, or to grind it: This made them eat the first two Bushel of Wheat that was sent them in parched Corn, as the *Israelites* of old did without grinding or making Bread of it.

At last they found means to carry their Corn to a Windmill near *Woodford*, where they had it ground; and afterwards the Biscuit Baker made a Hearth so hollow and dry that he cou'd bake Biscuit Cakes tolerably well; and thus they came into a Condition to live without any assistance or supplies from the Towns; and it was well they did, for the Country was soon after fully Infected, and about 120 were

said

ſaid to have died of the Diſtemper in the Villages near them, which was a terrible thing to them.

On this they call'd a new Council, and now the Towns had no need to be afraid they ſhould ſettle near them, but on the contrary ſeveral Families of the poorer ſort of the Inhabitants quitted their Houſes, and built Hutts in the Foreſt after the ſame manner as they had done: But it was obſerv'd, that ſeveral of theſe poor People that had ſo remov'd, had the Sickneſs even in their Hutts or Booths; the Reaſon of which was plain, namely, not becauſe they removed into the Air, but becauſe they did not remove time enough, that is to ſay, not till by openly converſing with the other People their Neighbours, they had the Diſtemper upon them, or, (as may be ſaid) among them, and ſo carry'd it about them whither they went: Or, (2.) Becauſe they were not careful enough after they were ſafely removed out of the Towns, not to come in again and mingle with the diſeaſed People.

But be it which of theſe it will, when our Travellers began to perceive that the Plague was not only in the Towns, but even in the Tents and Huts on the Foreſt near them, they began then not only to be afraid, but to think of decamping and removing; for had they ſtay'd, they wou'd ha' been in manifeſt Danger of their Lives.

It is not to be wondered that they were greatly afflicted, as being obliged to quit the Place where they had been ſo kindly receiv'd, and where they had been treated with ſo much Humanity and Charity; but Neceſſity, and the hazard of Life, which they came out ſo far to preſerve, prevail'd with them, and they ſaw no Remedy. *John* however thought of a Remedy for their preſent Misfortune, namely, that he would firſt acquaint that Gentleman who was their principal Benefactor, with the Diſtreſs they were in, and to crave his Aſſiſtance and Advice.

The

The good charitable Gentleman encourag'd them to quit the Place, for fear they ſhould be cut off from any Retreat at all, by the Violence of the Diſtemper; but whither they ſhould go, that he found very hard to direct them to. At laſt *John* ask'd of him, whether he (being a Juſtice of the Peace) would give them Certificates of Health to other Juſtices who they might come before, that ſo whatever might be their Lot they might not be repulſed now they had been alſo ſo long from *London*. This his Worſhip immediately granted, and gave them proper Letters of Health, and from thence they were at Liberty to travel whither they pleaſed.

Accordingly they had a full Certificate of Health, intimating, That they had reſided in a Village in the County of *Eſſex* ſo long, that being examined and ſcrutiniz'd ſufficiently, and having been retir'd from all Converſation for above 40 Days, without any appearance of Sickneſs, they were therefore certainly concluded to be Sound Men, and might be ſafely entertain'd any where, having at laſt remov'd rather for fear of the Plague, which was come into *ſuch a Town*, rather than for having any ſignal of Infection upon them, or upon any belonging to them.

With this Certificate they remov'd, tho' with great Reluctance; and *John* inclining not to go far from Home, they mov'd towards the Marſhes on the ſide of *Waltham*: But here they found a Man, who it ſeems kept a Weer or Stop upon the River, made to raiſe the Water for the Barges which go up and down the River, and he terrified them with diſmal Stories of the Sickneſs having been ſpread into all the Towns on the River, and near the River, on the ſide of *Middleſex* and *Hertfordſhire*; that is to ſay, into *Waltham*, *Waltham-Croſs*, *Enfield* and *Ware*, and all the Towns on the Road, that they were afraid to go that way; tho' it ſeems the Man impos'd upon them, for that the thing was not really true.

How-

However it terrified them, and they resolved to move cross the Forest towards *Rumford* and *Brent-Wood*; but they heard that there were numbers of People fled out of *London* that way, who lay up and down in the Forest call'd *Henalt* Forest, reaching near *Rumford*, and who having no Subsistence or Habitation, not only liv'd oddly, and suffered great Extremities in the Woods and Fields for want of Relief, but were said to be made so desperate by those Extremities, as that they offer'd many Violences to the County, robb'd and plunder'd, and kill'd Cattle, and the like; that others building Hutts and Hovels by the Road-side Begg'd, and that with an Importunity next Door to demanding Relief; so that the County was very uneasy, and had been oblig'd to take some of them up.

This, in the first Place intimated to them, that they would be sure to find the Charity and Kindness of the County, which they had found here where they were before, hardned and shut up against them; and that on the other Hand, they would be question'd where-ever they came, and would be in Danger of Violence from others in like Cases as themselves.

Upon all these Considerations, *John*, their Captain, in all their Names, went back to their good Friend and Benefactor, who had reliev'd them before, and laying their Case truly before him, humbly ask'd his Advice; and he as kindly advised them to take up their old Quarters again, or if not, to remove but a little further out of the Road, and directed them to a proper Place for them; and as they really wanted some House rather than Huts to shelter them at that time of the Year, it growing on towards *Michaelmas*, they found an old decay'd House, which had been formerly some Cottage or little Habitation, but was so out of repair as scarce habitable, and by the consent of a Farmer

to

to whoſe Farm it belong'd, they got leave to make what uſe of it they could.

The ingenious Joyner and all the reſt by his Directions, went to work with it, and in a very few Days made it capable to ſhelter them all in caſe of bad Weather, and in which there was an old Chimney, and an old Oven, tho' both lying in Ruins, yet they made them both fit for Uſe, and raiſing Additions, Sheds, and Leantoo's on every ſide, they ſoon made the Houſe capable to hold them all.

They chiefly wanted Boards to make Window-ſhutters, Floors, Doors, and ſeveral other Things; but as the Gentlemen above favour'd them, and the Country was by that Means made eaſy with them, and above all, that they were known to be all ſound and in good health, every Body help'd them with what they could ſpare.

Here they encamp'd for good and all, and reſolv'd to remove no more; they ſaw plainly how terribly alarm'd that County was every where, at any Body that came from *London*; and that they ſhould have no admittance any where but with the utmoſt Difficulty, at leaſt no friendly Reception and Aſſiſtance as they had receiv'd here.

Now altho' they receiv'd great Aſſiſtance and Encouragement from the Country Gentlemen and from the People round about them, yet they were put to great Straits, for the Weather grew cold and wet in *October* and *November*, and they had not been us'd to ſo much hardſhip; ſo that they got Colds in their Limbs, and Diſtempers, but never had the Infection: And thus about *December* they came home to the City again.

I give this Story thus at large, principally to give an Account what became of the great Numbers of People which immediately appear'd in the City as ſoon as the Sickneſs abated: For, as I have ſaid, great Numbers of thoſe that were able and had

Retreats

Retreats in the Country, fled to those Retreats; So when it was encreased to such a frightful Extremity as I have related, the midling People who had not Friends, fled to all Parts of the Country where they cou'd get shelter, as well those that had Mony to relieve themselves; as those that had not. Those that had Mony always fled fartheſt, becauſe they were able to subsiſt themselves; but those who were empty, suffer'd, as I have said, great Hardships, and were often driven by Neceſſity to relieve their Wants at the Expence of the Country: By that Means the Country was made very uneaſie at them, and sometimes took them up, tho' even then they scarce knew what to do with them, and were always very backward to puniſh them, but often too they forced them from Place to Place, till they were oblig'd to come back again to *London*.

I have, since my knowing this Story of *John* and his Brother, enquir'd and found, that there were a great many of the poor disconsolate People, as above, fled into the Country every way, and some of them got little Sheds, and Barns, and Out-houses to live in, where they cou'd obtain so much Kindneſs of the Country, and especially where they had any the leaſt satisfactory Account to give of themselves, and particularly that they did not come out of *London* too late. But others, and that in great Numbers, built themselves little Hutts and Retreats in the Fields and Woods, and liv'd like Hermits in Holes and Caves, or any Place they cou'd find; and where, we may be sure, they suffer'd great Extremities, such that many of them were oblig'd to come back again whatever the Danger was; and so those little Huts were often found empty, and the Country People suppos'd the Inhabitants lay Dead in them of the Plague, and would not go near them for fear, no not in a great while; nor is it unlikely but that some of the

the unhappy Wanderers might die ſo all alone, even ſometimes for want of Help, as particularly in one Tent or Hutt, was found a Man dead, and on the Gate of a Field juſt by, was cut with his Knife in uneven Letters, the following Words, by which it may be ſuppos'd the other Man eſcap'd, or that one dying firſt, the other bury'd him as well as he could;

O mIsErY!
We BoTH ShaLL DyE,
WoE, WoE.

I have given an Account already of what I found to ha'been the Caſe down the River among the Sea-faring Men, how the Ships lay in the *Offing*, as 'tis call'd, in Rows or Lines a-ſtern of one another, quite down from the *Pool* as far as I could ſee, I have been told, that they lay in the ſame manner quite down the River as low as *Graveſend*, and ſome far beyond, even every where, or in every Place where they cou'd ride with Safety as to Wind and Weather; Nor did I ever hear that the Plague reach'd to any of the People on board thoſe Ships, except ſuch as lay up in the *Pool*, or as high as *Deptford* Reach, altho' the People went frequently on Shoar to the Country Towns and Villages, and Farmers Houſes, to buy freſh Proviſions, Fowls, Pigs, Calves, and the like for their Supply.

Likewiſe I found that the Watermen on the River above the Bridge, found means to convey themſelves away up the River as far as they cou'd go; and that they had, many of them, their whole Families in their Boats, cover'd with Tilts and Bales, as they call them, and furniſh'd with Straw within for their Lodging; and that they lay thus all along by the Shoar in the Marſhes, ſome of them ſetting up little Tents with their Sails, and ſo lying under them on Shoar in the Day, and going into their Boats

Boats at Night; and in this manner, as I have heard, the River-ſides were lin'd with Boats and People as long as they had any thing to ſubſiſt on, or cou'd get any thing of the Country; and indeed the Country People, as well Gentlemen as others, on theſe and all other Occaſions, were very forward to relieve them, but they were by no means willing to receive them into their Towns and Houſes, and for that we cannot blame them.

There was one unhappy Citizen, within my Knowledge, who had been Viſited in a dreadful manner, ſo that his Wife and all his Children were Dead, and himſelf and two Servants only left, with an elderly Woman a near Relation, who had nurs'd thoſe that were dead as well as ſhe could: This diſconſolate Man goes to a Village near the Town, tho' not within the Bills of Mortality, and finding an empty Houſe there, enquires out the Owner, and took the Houſe: After a few Days he got a Cart and loaded it with Goods, and carries them down to the Houſe; the People of the Village oppos'd his driving the Cart along, but with ſome Arguings, and ſome Force, the Men that drove the Cart along, got through the Street up to the Door of the Houſe, there the Conſtable reſiſted him again, and would not let them be brought in. The Man caus'd the Goods to be unloaden and lay'd at the Door, and ſent the Cart away; upon which they carry'd the Man before a Juſtice of Peace; that is to ſay, they commanded him to go, which he did. The Juſtice order'd him to cauſe the Cart to fetch away the Goods again, which he refuſed to do; upon which the Juſtice order'd the Conſtable to purſue the Carters and fetch them back, and make them re-load the Goods and carry them away, or to ſet them in the Stocks till they came for farther Orders; and if they could not find them, nor the Man would not conſent to take them away, they ſhould cauſe them

to

to be drawn with Hooks from the Houſe-Door and burnt in the Street. The poor diſtreſs'd Man upon this fetch'd the Goods again, but with grievous Cries and Lamentations at the hardſhip of his Caſe. But there was no Remedy; Self-preſervation oblig'd the People to thoſe Severities, which they wou'd not otherwiſe have been concern'd in: Whether this poor Man liv'd or dy'd I cannot tell, but it was reported that he had the Plague upon him at that time; and perhaps the People might report that to juſtify their Uſage of him; but it was not unlikely, that either he or his Goods, or both, were dangerous, when his whole Family had been dead of the Diſtemper ſo little a while before.

I kno' that the Inhabitants of the Towns adjacent to *London*, were much blamed for Cruelty to the poor People that ran from the Contagion in their Diſtreſs; and many very ſevere things were done, as maybe ſeen from what has been ſaid; but I cannot but ſay alſo that where there was room for Charity and Aſſiſtance to the People, without apparent Danger to themſelves, they were willing enough to help and relieve them. But as every Town were indeed Judges in their own Caſe, ſo the poor People who ran a-broad in their Extremities, were often ill-uſed and driven back again into the Town; and this cauſed infinite Exclamations and Out-cries againſt the Country Towns, and made the Clamour very popular.

And yet more or leſs, maugre all their Caution, there was not a Town of any Note within ten (or I believe twenty) Miles of the City, but what was more or leſs Infected, and had ſome died among them. I have heard the Accounts of ſeveral; ſuch as they were reckon'd up as follows.

In

In *Enfield*	32	*Hertford*	90	*Brent-Wood*	70
In *Hornsey*	58	*Ware*	160	*Rumford*	109
In *Newington*	17	*Hodsdon*	30	*Barking* abt.	200
In *Tottenham*	42	*Waltham* Ab.	23	*Branford*	432
In *Edmonton*	19	*Epping*	26	*Kingston*	122
In *Barnet* and *Hadly*	43	*Deptford*	623	*Stanes*	82
In St. *Albans*	121	*Greenwich*	231	*Chertsey*	18
In *Watford*	45	*Eltham* and *Lusum*	85	*Windsor*	103
In *Uxbridge*	117	*Croydon*	61	*cum aliis.*	

Another thing might render the Country more strict with respect to the Citizens, and especially with respect to the Poor; and this was what I hinted at before, namely, that there was a seeming propensity, or a wicked Inclination in those that were Infected to infect others.

There have been great Debates among our Physicians, as to the Reason of this; some will have it to be in the Nature of the Disease, and that it impresses every one that is seized upon by it, with a kind of a Rage, and a hatred against their own Kind, as if there was a malignity, not only in the Distemper to communicate it self, but in the very Nature of Man, prompting him with evil Will, or an evil Eye, that *as they say* in the Case of a mad Dog, who tho' the gentlest Creature before of any of his Kind, yet then will fly upon and bite any one that comes next him and those as soon as any, who had been most observ'd by him before.

Others plac'd it to the Account of the Coruption of humane Nature, which cannot bear to see itself more miserable than others of its own Specie, and has a kind of involuntary Wish, that all Men were as unhappy, or in as bad a Condition as itself.

Others say, it was only a kind of Desperation, not knowing or regarding what they did, and consequently unconcern'd at the Danger or Safety, not only of any Body near them, but even of themselves

alſo: And indeed when Men are once come to a Condition to abandon themſelves, and be unconcern'd for the Safety, or at the Danger of themſelves, it cannot be ſo much wondered that they ſhould be careleſs of the Safety of other People.

But I chooſe to give this grave Debate a quite different turn, and anſwer it or reſolve it all by ſaying, *That I do not grant the Fact.* On the contrary, I ſay, that the Thing is not really ſo, but that it was a general Complaint rais'd by the People inhabiting the out-lying Villages againſt the Citizens, to juſtify, or at leaſt excuſe thoſe Hardſhips and Severities ſo much talk'd of, and in which Complaints, both Sides may be ſaid to have injur'd one another; that is to ſay, the Citizens preſſing to be received and harbour'd in time of Diſtreſs, and with the Plague upon them, complain of the Cruelty and Injuſtice of the Country People, in being refuſed Entrance, and forc'd back again with their Goods and Families; and the Inhabitants finding themſelves ſo impoſed upon, and the Citizens breaking in as it were upon them whether they would or no, complain, that when they were infected, they were not only regardleſs of others, but even willing to infect them; neither of which were really true, that is to ſay, in the Colours they were deſcrib'd in.

It is true, there is ſomething to be ſaid for the frequent Alarms which were given to the Country, of the reſolution of the People in *London* to come out by Force, not only for Relief, but to Plunder and Rob, that they ran about the Streets with the Diſtemper upon them without any control; and that no Care was taken to ſhut up Houſes, and confine the ſick People from infecting others; whereas, to do the *Londoners* Juſtice, they never practiſed ſuch things, except in ſuch particular Caſes as I have mention'd above, and ſuch-like. On the other Hand every thing was managed with ſo much Care, and ſuch excellent Order was obſerv'd in the whole City and Suburbs,

Suburbs, by the Care of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen; and by the Juſtices of the Peace, Churchwardens, *&c.* in the out-Parts; that *London* may be a Pattern to all the Cities in the World for the good Government and the excellent Order that was every where kept, even in the time of the moſt violent Infection; and when the People were in the utmoſt Conſternation and Diſtreſs. But of this I ſhall ſpeak by itſelf.

One thing, it is to be obſerv'd, was owing principally to the Prudence of the Magiſtrates, and ought to be mention'd to their Honour, (*viz.*) The Moderation which they uſed in the great and difficult Work of ſhutting up of Houſes: It is true, as I have mentioned, that the ſhutting up of Houſes was a great Subject of Diſcontent, and I may ſay indeed the only Subject of Diſcontent among the People at that time; for the confining the Sound in the ſame Houſe with the Sick, was counted very terrible, and the Complaints of People ſo confin'd were very grievous; they were heard into the very Streets, and they were ſometimes ſuch that called for Reſentment, tho' oftner for Compaſſion; they had no way to converſe with any of their Friends but out at their Windows, where they wou'd make ſuch piteous Lamentations, as often mov'd the Hearts of thoſe they talk'd with, and of others who paſſing by heard their Story; and as thoſe Complaints oftentimes reproach'd the Severity, and ſometimes the Inſolence of the Watchmen plac'd at their Doors, thoſe Watchmen wou'd anſwer ſaucily enough; and perhaps be apt to affront the People who were in the Street talking to the ſaid Families; for which, or for their ill Treatment of the Families, I think ſeven or eight of them in ſeveral Places were kill'd; I know not whether I ſhou'd ſay murthered or not, becauſe I cannot enter into the particular Caſes. It is true, the Watchmen were on their Duty, and acting in the Poſt where they were plac'd by a lawful Authority; and killing any publick legal Officer in the Execution of his Office,

is always in the Language of the Law call'd Murther. But as they were not authoriz'd by the Magistrate's Instructions, or by the Power they acted under, to be injurious or abusive, either to the People who were under their Observation, or to any that concern'd themselves for them; so when they did so, they might be said to act themselves, not their Office; to act as private Persons, not as Persons employ'd; and consequently if they brought Mischief upon themselves by such an undue Behaviour, that Mischief was upon their own Heads; and indeed they had so much the hearty Curses of the People, whether they deserv'd it or not, that whatever befel them no body pitied them, and every Body was apt to say, they deserv'd it, whatever it was; nor do I remember that any Body was ever punish'd, at least to any considerable Degree, for whatever was done to the Watchmen that guarded their Houses.

What variety of Stratagems were used to escape and get out of Houses thus shut up, by which the Watchmen were deceived or overpower'd, and that the People got away, I have taken notice of already, and shall say no more to that: But I say the Magistrates did moderate and ease Families upon many Occasions in this Case, and particularly in that of taking away, or suffering to be remov'd the sick Persons out of such Houses, when they were willing to be remov'd either to a Pest-House, or other Places, and sometimes giving the well Persons in the Family so shut up, leave to remove upon Information given that they were well, and that they would confine themselves in such Houses where they went, so long as should be requir'd of them. The Concern also of the Magistrates for the supplying such poor Families as were infected; I say, supplying them with Necessaries, as well Physick as Food, was very great, and in which they did not content themselves with giving the necessary Orders to the Officers appointed, but the Aldermen in Person, and on Horseback frequently rid

rid to such Houses, and caus'd the People to be ask'd at their Windows, whether they were duly attended, or not? Also, whether they wanted any thing that was necessary, and if the Officers had constantly carry'd their Messages, and fetch'd them such things as they wanted, or not? And if they answered in the Affirmative, all was well; but if they complain'd, that they were ill supply'd, and that the Officer did not do his Duty, or did not treat them civilly, they (the Officers) were generally remov'd, and others plac'd in their stead.

It is true, such Complaint might be unjust, and if the Officer had such Arguments to use as would convince the Magistrate, that he was right, and that the People had injur'd him, he was continued, and they reproved. But this part could not well bear a particular Inquiry, for the Parties could very ill be brought face to face, and a Complaint could not be well heard and answer'd in the Street, from the Windows, as was the Case then; the Magistrates therefore generally chose to favour the People, and remove the Man, as what seem'd to be the least Wrong, and of the least ill Consequence; seeing, if the Watchman was injur'd yet they could readily make him amends by giving him another Post of the like Nature; but if the Family was injur'd, there was no Satisfaction could be made to them, the Damage perhaps being irreparable, as it concern'd their Lives.

A great variety of these Cases frequently happen'd between the Watchmen and the poor People shut up, besides those I formerly mention'd about escaping; sometimes the Watchmen were absent, sometimes drunk, sometimes asleep when the People wanted them, and such never fail'd to be punish'd severely, as indeed they deserv'd.

But after all that was or could be done in these Cases, the shutting up of Houses, so as to confine those that were well, with those that were sick, had very great Inconveniences in it, and some that were very

tragical, and which merited to have been consider'd if there had been room for it; but it was authoriz'd by a Law, it had the publick Good in view, as the End chiefly aim'd at, and all the private Injuries that were done by the putting it in Execution, must be put to the account of the publick Benefit.

It is doubtful to this day, whether in the whole it contributed any thing to the stop of the Infection, and indeed, I cannot say it did; for nothing could run with greater Fury and Rage than the Infection did when it was in its chief Violence; tho' the Houses infected were shut up as exactly, and as effectually as it was possible. Certain it is, that if all the infected Persons were effectually shut in, no sound Person could have been infected by them, because they could not have come near them. But the Case was this, and I shall only touch it here, namely, that the Infection was propagated insensibly, and by such Persons as were not visibly infected, who neither knew who they infected, or who they were infected by.

A House in *White-Chapel* was shut up for the sake of one infected Maid, who had only Spots, not the Tokens come out upon her, and recover'd; yet these People obtain'd no Liberty to stir, neither for Air or Exercise forty Days; want of Breath, Fear, Anger, Vexation, and all the other Griefs attending such an injurious Treatment, cast the Mistress of the Family into a Fever, and Visitors came into the House, and said it was the Plague, tho' the Physicians declar'd it was not; however the Family were oblig'd to begin their Quarantine anew, on the Report of the Visitor or Examiner, tho' their former Quarantine wanted but a few Days of being finish'd. This oppress'd them so with Anger and Grief, and, *as before*, straiten'd them also so much as to Room, and for want of Breathing and free Air, that most of the Family fell sick, one of one Distemper, one of another, chiefly Scorbutick Ailments; *only one a violent Cholick*, till

'till after several prolongings of their Confinement, some or other of those that came in with the Visitors to inspect the Persons that were ill, in hopes of releasing them, brought the Distemper with them, and infected the whole House, and all or most of them died, not of the Plague, as really upon them before, but of the Plague that those People brought them, who should ha' been careful to have protected them from it; and this was a thing which frequently happen'd, and was indeed one of the worst Consequences of shutting Houses up.

I had about this time a little Hardship put upon me, which I was at first greatly afflicted at, and very much disturb'd about; tho' as it prov'd, it did not expose me to any Disaster; and this was being appointed by the Alderman of *Portsoken* Ward, one of the Examiners of the Houses in the Precinct where I liv'd; we had a large Parish, and had no less than eighteen Examiners, as the Order call'd us, the People call'd us Visitors. I endeavour'd with all my might to be excus'd from such an Employment, and used many Arguments with the Alderman's Deputy to be excus'd; particularly I alledged, that I was against shutting up Houses at all, and that it would be very hard to oblige me, to be an Instrument in that which was against my Judgment, and which I did verily believe would not answer the End it was intended for, but all the Abatement I could get was only, that whereas the Officer was appointed bymy Lord Mayor to continue two Months, I should be obliged to hold it but three Weeks, on Condition, nevertheless that I could then get some other sufficient House-keeper to serve the rest of the Time for me, which was, in short, but a very small Favour, it being very difficult to get any Man to accept of such an Employment, that was fit to be intrusted with it.

It is true that shutting up of Houses had one Effect, which I am sensible was of Moment, namely, it confin'd the distemper'd People, who would other-

wiſe have been both very troubleſome and very dangerous in their running about Streets with the Diſtemper upon them, which when they were dilirious, they would have done in a moſt frightful manner; and as indeed they began to do at firſt very much, 'till they were thus reſtrain'd; nay, ſo very open they were, that the Poor would go about and beg at peoples Doors, and ſay they had the Plague upon them, and beg Rags for their Sores, or both, or any thing that dilirious Nature happen'd to think of.

A poor unhappy Gentlewoman, a ſubſtantial Citizen's Wife was (if the Story be true) murther'd by one of theſe Creatures in *Alderſgate-ſtreet*, or that Way: He was going along the Street, raving mad to be ſure, and ſinging, the People only ſaid, he was drunk; but he himſelf ſaid, he had the Plague upon him, which, it ſeems, was true; and meeting this Gentlewoman, he would kiſs her; ſhe was terribly frighted as he was only a rude Fellow, and ſhe run from him, but the Street being very thin of People, there was no body near enough to help her: When ſhe ſee he would overtake her, ſhe turn'd, and gave him a Thruſt ſo forcibly, he being but weak, and puſh'd him down backward: But very unhappily, ſhe being ſo near, he caught hold of her, and pull'd her down alſo; and getting up firſt, maſter'd her, and kiſs'd her; and which was worſt of all, when he had done, told her he had the Plague, and why ſhould not ſhe have it as well as he. She was frighted enough before, being alſo young with Child; but when ſhe heard him ſay, he had the Plague, ſhe ſcream'd out and fell down in a Swoon, or in a Fit, which tho' ſhe recover'd a little, yet kill'd her in a very few Days, and I never heard whether ſhe had the Plague or no.

Another infected Perſon came, and knock'd at the Door of a Citizen's Houſe, where they knew him very well; the Servant let him in, and being told the Maſter of the Houſe was above, he ran up, and came into

into the Room to them as the whole Family was at upper: They began to riſe up a little ſurpriz'd, not kw ing what the Matter was, but he bid them ſit ſtill, he only came to take his leave of them. They ask'd him, Why Mr. —— where are you going? Going, ſays he, I have got the Sickneſs, and ſhall die to morrow Night. 'Tis eaſie to believe, though not to deſcribe the Conſternation they were all in, the Women and the Man's Daughters which were but little Girls, were frighted almoſt to Death, and got up, one running out at one Door, and one at another, ſome down-Stairs and ſome up-Stairs, and getting together as well as they could, lock'd themſelves into their Chambers, and ſcreamed out at the Window for Help, as if they had been frighted out of their Wits: The Maſter more compos'd than they, tho' both frighted and provok'd, was going to lay Hands on him, and thro' him down Stairs, being in a Paſſion, but then conſidering a little the Condition of the Man and the Danger of touching him, Horror ſeiz'd his Mind, and he ſtood ſtill like one aſtoniſhed. The poor diſtemper'd Man all this while, being as well diſeas'd in his Brain as in his Body, ſtood ſtill like one amaz'd; at length he turns round, *Ay! ſays he,* with all the ſeeming calmneſs imaginable, *Is it ſo with you all! Are you all diſturb'd at me? why then I'll e'en go home and die there.* And ſo he goes immediately down Stairs: The Servant that had let him in goes down after him with a Candle, but was afraid to go paſt him and open the Door, ſo he ſtood on the Stairs to ſee what he wou'd do; the Man went and open'd the Door, and went out and flung the Door after him: It was ſome while before the Family recover'd the Fright, but as no ill Conſequence attended, they have had occaſion ſince to ſpeak of it (you may be ſure) with great Satisfaction. Tho' the Man was gone it was ſome time, nay. as I heard, ſome Days before they recover'd themſelves of the Hurry they were in, nor

did

did they go up and down the House with any assurance, till they had burnt a great variety of Fumes and Perfumes in all the Rooms, and made a great many Smoaks of Pitch, of Gunpowder, and of Sulphur, all separately shifted; and washed their Clothes, and the like: As to the poor Man whether he liv'd or dy'd I don't remember.

It is most certain, that if by the Shutting up of Houses the sick had not been confin'd, multitudes who in the height of their Fever were Dilirious and Distracted, wou'd ha' been continually running up and down the Streets, and even as it was, a very great number did so, and offer'd all sorts of Violence to those they met, even just as a mad Dog runs on and bites at every one he meets; nor can I doubt but that shou'd one of those infected diseased Creatures have bitten any Man or Woman, while the Frenzy of the Distemper was upon them, they, I mean the Person so wounded, wou'd as certainly ha' been incurably infected, as one that was sick before and had the Tokens upon him.

I heard of one infected Creature, who running out of his Bed in his Shirt, in the anguish and agony of his Swellings, of which he had three upon him, got his Shoes on and went to put on his Coat, but the Nurse resisting and snatching the Coat from him, he threw her down, run over her, run down Stairs and into the Street directly to the *Thames* in his Shirt, the Nurse running after him, and calling to the Watch to stop him; but the Watchmen frighted at the Man, and afraid to touch him, let him go on; upon which he ran down to the Still-yard Stairs, threw away his Shirt, and plung'd into the *Thames*, and, being a good swimmer, swam quite over the River; and the Tide being coming in, as they call it, that is running West-ward, he reached the Land not till he came about the Falcon Stairs, where landing, and finding no People there, it being in the Night, he ran about the Streets there, Naked as he was, for a good

a good while, when it being by that time High-water, he takes the River again, and ſwam back to the Still-yard, landed, ran up the Streets again to his own Houſe, knocking at the Door, went up the Stairs, and into his Bed again; and that this terrible Experiment cur'd him of the Plague, that is to ſay, that the violent Motion of his Arms and Legs ſtretch'd the Parts where the Swellings he had upon him were, that is to ſay under his Arms and his Groin, and cauſed them to ripen and break; and that the cold of the Water abated the Fever in his Blood.

I have only to add, that I do not relate this any more than ſome of the other, as a Fact within my own Knowledge, ſo as that I can vouch the Truth of them, and eſpecially that of the Man being cur'd by the extravagant Adventure, which I confeſs I do not think very poſſible, but it may ſerve to confirm the many deſperate Things which the diſtreſs'd People falling into, Diliriums, and what we call Lightheadedneſs, were frequently run upon at that time, and how infinitely more ſuch there wou'd ha' been, if ſuch People had not been confin'd by the ſhutting up of Houſes; and this I take to be the beſt, *if not the only good thing* which was perform'd by that ſevere Method.

On the other Hand, the Complaints and the Murmurings were very bitter againſt the thing itſelf.

It would pierce the Hearts of all that came by to hear the piteous Cries of thoſe infected People, who being thus out of their Underſtandings by the Violence of their Pain, or the heat of their Blood, were either ſhut in, or perhaps ty'd in their Beds and Chairs, to prevent their doing themſelves Hurt, and who wou'd make a dreadful outcry at their being confin'd, and at their being not permitted to die at large, as they call'd it, and as they wou'd ha' done before.

This running of diſtemper'd People about the Streets was very diſmal, and the Magiſtrates did their utmoſt to prevent it, but as it was generally in the

the Night and always sudden, when such attempts were made, the Officers cou'd not be at hand to prevent it, and even when any got out in the Day, the Officers appointed did not care to meddle with them, because, as they were all grievously infected to *besure* when they were come to that Height, so they were more than ordinarily infectious, and it was one of the most dangerous Things that cou'd be to touch them; on the other Hand, they generally ran, on not knowing what they did, till they dropp'd down stark Dead, or till they had exhausted their Sprits so, as that they wou'd fall and then die in perhaps half an Hour or an Hour, and which was most pitious to hear, they were sure to come to themselves intirely in that half Hour or Hour, and then to make most grievous and piercing Cries and Lamentations in the deep afflicting Sense of the Condition they were in. This was much of it before the Order for shutting up of Houses was strictly put in Execution, for at first the Watchmen were not so vigorous and severe, as they were afterward in the keeping the People in; that is to say, before they were, I mean some of them, severely punish'd for their Neglect, failing in their Duty, and letting People who were under their Care slip away, or connniving at their going abroad whether sick or well. But after they saw the Officers appointed to examine into their Conduct, were resolv'd to have them do their Duty, or be punish'd for the omission, they were more exact, and the People were strictly restrain'd; which was a thing they took so ill, and bore so impatiently, that their Discontents can hardly be describ'd: Bet there was an absolute Necessity for it, that must be confess'd, unless some other Measures had been timely enter'd upon, and it was too late for that.

Had not this particular of the Sick's been restrain'd as above, been our Case at that time, *London* wou'd ha' been the most dreadful Place that ever was in the World, there wou'd for ought I kno' have as many

many People dy'd in the Streets as dy'd in their Houſes; for when the Diſtmper was at its height, it generally made them Raving and Dilirious, and when they were ſo, they wou'd never be perſwaded to keep in their Beds but by Force; and many who were not ty'd, threw themſelves out of Windows, when they found they cou'd not get leave to go out of their Doors.

It was for want of People converſing one with another, in this time of Calamity, that it was impoſſible any particular Perſon cou'd come at the Knowledge of all the extraordinary Caſes that occurr'd in different Families; and particularly I believe it was never known to this Day how many People in their Diliriums drowned themſelves in the *Thames*, and in the River which runs from the Marſhes by *Hackney*, which we generally call'd *Ware* River, or *Hackney* River; as to thoſe which were ſet down in the Weekly Bill, they were indeed few; nor cou'd it be known of any of thoſe, whether they drowned themſelves by Accident or not: But I believe, I might reckon up more, who, within the compaſs of my Knowledge or Obſervation, really drowned themſelves in that Year, than are put down in the Bill of all put together, for many of the Bodies were never found, who, yet were known to be ſo loſt; and the like in other Methods of Self-Deſtruction. There was alſo One Man in or about *Whitecroſs-ſtreet*, burnt himſelf to Death in his Bed; ſome ſaid it was done by himſelf, others that it was by the Treachery of the Nurſe that attended him; but that he had the Plague upon him was agreed by all.

It was a merciful Diſpoſition of Providence alſo, and which I have many times thought of at that time, that no Fires, or no conſiderable ones at leaſt, happen'd in the City, during that Year, which, if it had been otherwiſe, would have been very dreadful; and either the People muſt have let them alone unquenched, or have come together in great Crowds

and

and Throngs, unconcern'd at the Danger of the Infection, not concerned at the Houſes they went into, at the Goods they handled, or at the Perſons or the People they came among: But ſo it was that excepting that in *Cripplegate* Pariſh, and two or three little Eruptions of Fires, which were preſently extinguiſh'd, there was no Diſaſter of that kind happen'd in the whole Year. They told us a Story of a Houſe in a Place call'd *Swan-Alley*, paſſing from *Goſwell-ſtreet* near the End of *Oldſtreet* into *St. John-ſtreet*, that a Family was infected there, in ſo terrible a Manner that every one of the Houſe died; the laſt Perſon lay dead on the Floor, and as it is ſuppoſed, had laid her ſelf all along to die juſt before the Fire; the Fire, it ſeems had fallen from its Place, being of Wood, and had taken hold of the Boards and the Joiſts they lay on, and burnt as far as juſt to the Body, but had not taken hold of the dead Body, tho' ſhe had little more than her Shift on, and had gone out of itſelf, not hurting the Reſt of the Houſe, tho' it was a ſlight Timber Houſe. How true this might be, I do not determine, but the City being to ſuffer ſeverely the next Year by Fire, this Year it felt very little of that Calamity.

Indeed conſidering the Deliriums, which the Agony threw People into, and how I have mention'd in their Madneſs, when they were alone, they did many deſperate Things; it was very ſtrange there were no more Diſaſters of that kind.

It has been frequently ask'd me, and I cannot ſay, that I ever knew how to give a direct Anſwer to it, How it came to paſs that ſo many infected People appear'd abroad in the Streets, at the ſame time that the Houſes which were infected were ſo vigilantly ſearched, and all of them ſhut up and guarded as they were.

I confeſs, I know not what Anſwer to give to this, unleſs it be this, that in ſo great and populous a City as this is, it was impoſſible to diſcover every Houſe that

that was infected as ſoon as it was ſo, or to ſhut up all the Houſes that were infected : ſo that People had the Liberty of going about the Streets, even where they pleaſed, unleſs they were known to belong to ſuch and ſuch infected Houſes.

It is true, that as ſeveral Phyſicians told my Lord Mayor, the Fury of the Contagion was ſuch at ſome particular Times, and People ſicken'd ſo faſt, and died ſo ſoon, that it was impoſſible and indeed to no purpoſe to go about to enquire who was ſick and who was well, or to ſhut them up with ſuch Exactneſs, as the thing required ; almoſt every Houſe in a whole Street being infected, and in many Places every Perſon in ſome of the Houſes; and that which was ſtill worſe, by the time that the Houſes were known to be infected, moſt of the Perſons infected would be ſtone dead, and the reſt run away for Fear of being ſhut up ; ſo that it was to very ſmall Purpoſe, to call them infected Houſes and ſhut them up; the Infection having ravaged, and taken its Leave of the Houſe, before it was really known, that the Family was any way touch'd.

This might be ſufficient to convince any reaſonable Perſon, that as it was not in the Power of the Magiſtrates, or of any humane Methods or Policy, to prevent the ſpreading the Infection ; ſo that this way of ſhutting up of Houſes was perfectly inſufficient for that End. Indeed it ſeemed to have no manner of publick Good in it, equal or proportionable to the grievous Burthen that it was to the particular Families, that were ſo ſhut up ; and as far as I was employed by the publick in directing that Severity, I frequently found occaſion to ſee, that it was incapable of anſwering the End. For Example as I was deſired as a Viſitor or Examiner to enquire into the Particulars of ſeveral Families which were infected, we ſcarce came to any Houſe where the Plague had viſibly appear'd in the Family, but that ſome of the Family were Fled and gone ; the

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Magistrates would resent this, and charge the Examiners with being remiss in their Examination or Inspection: But by that means Houses were long infected before it was known. Now, as I was in this dangerous Office but half the appointed time, which was two Months, it was long enough to inform myself, that we were no way capable of coming at the Knowledge of the true state of any Family, but by enquiring at the Door, or of the Neighbours; as for going into every House to search, that was a part, no Authority wou'd offer to impose on the Inhabitants, or any Citizen wou'd undertake, for it wou'd ha' been exposing us to certain Infection and Death, and to the Ruine of our own Families as well as of ourselves, nor wou'd any Citizen of Probity, and that cou'd be depended upon, have staid in the Town, if they had been made liable to such a Severity.

Seeing then that we cou'd come at the certainty of Things by no Method but that of Enquiry of the Neighbours, or of the Family, and on that we cou'd not justly depend, it was not possible, but that the incertainty of this Matter wou'd remain as above.

It is true, Masters of Families were bound by the Order, to give Notice to the Examiner of the Place wherein he liv'd, within two Hours after he shou'd discover it, of any Person being sick in his House, that is to say, having Signs of the Infection, but they found so many ways to evade this, and excuse their Negligence, that they seldom gave that Notice, till they had taken Measures to have every one Escape out of the House, who had a mind to Escape, whether they were Sick or Sound; and while this was so, it is easie to see, that the shutting up of Houses was no way to be depended upon, as a sufficient Method for putting a stop to the Infection, because, as I have said elsewhere, many of those that so went out of those infected Houses, had the Plague really upon them, tho' they might really think themselves Sound: And some of these were the People that walk'd the Streets

Streets till they fell down Dead, not that they were suddenly ſtruck with the Diſtemper, as with a Bullet that kill'd with the Stroke, but that they really had the Infection in their Blood long before, only, that, as it prey'd ſecretly on the Vitals, it appear'd not till it ſeiz'd the Heart with a mortal Power, and the Patient died in a Moment, as with a ſudden Fainting, or an Apoplectick Fit.

I know that ſome, even of our Phyſicians, thought, for a time, that thoſe People that ſo died in the Streets, were ſeiz'd but that Moment they fell, as if they had been touch'd by a Stroke from Heaven, as Men are kill'd by a flaſh of Lightning; but they found Reaſon to alter their Opinion afterward; for upon examining the Bodies of ſuch after they were Dead, they always either had Tokens upon them, or other evident Proofs of the Diſtemper having been longer upon them, than they had otherwiſe expected.

This often was the Reaſon that, as I have ſaid, we, that were Examiners, were not able to come at the Knowledge of the Infection being enter'd into a Houſe, till it was too late to ſhut it up; and ſometimes not till the People that were left, were all Dead. In *Petticoat-Lane* two Houſes together were infected, and ſeveral People ſick; but the Diſtemper was ſo well conceal'd, the Examiner, who was my Neighbour, got no Knowledge of it, till Notice was ſent him that the People were all Dead, and that the Carts ſhould call there to fetch them away. The two Heads of the Families concerted their Meaſures, and ſo order'd their Matters, as that when the Examiner was in the Neighbourhood, they appeared generally one at a time, and anſwered, that is, lied for one another, or got ſome of the Neighbourhood to ſay they were all in Health, and perhaps knew no better, till Death making it impoſſible to keep it any longer as a Secret, the dead-Carts were call'd in the Night, the Houſes to both, and ſo it became

publick: But when the Examiner order'd the Conſtable to ſhut up the Houſes, there was no Body left in them but three People, two in one Houſe, and one in the other juſt dying, and a Nurſe in each Houſe, who acknowledg'd that they had buried five before, that the Houſes had been infected nine or ten Days, and that for all the reſt of the two Families, which were many, they were gone, ſome ſick, ſome well, or whether ſick or well could not be known.

In like manner, at another Houſe in the ſame Lane, a Man having his Family infected, but very unwilling to be ſhut up, when he could conceal it no longer, ſhut up himſelf; that is to ſay, he ſet the great red Croſs upon his Door with the words LORD HAVE MERCY UPON US; and ſo deluded the Examiner, who ſuppos'd it had been done by the Conſtable, by Order of the other Examiner, for there were two Examiners to every Diſtrict or Precinct; by this means he had free egreſs and regreſs into his Houſe again, and out of it, as he pleas'd notwithſtanding it was infected; till at length his Stratagem was found out, and then he, with the ſound part of his Servants and Family, made off and eſcaped; ſo they were not ſhut up at all.

Theſe things made it very hard, if not impoſſible, *as I have ſaid*, to prevent the ſpreading of an Infection by the ſhutting up of Houſes, unleſs the People would think the ſhutting up of their Houſes no Grievance, and be ſo willing to have it done, as that they wou'd give Notice duly and faithfully to the Magiſtrates of their being infected, as ſoon as it was known by themſelves: But as that can not be expected from them, and the Examiners can not be ſuppoſed, as above, to go into their Houſes to viſit and and ſearch, all the good of ſhutting up Houſes, will be defeated, and few Houſes will be ſhut up in time, except thoſe of the Poor, who can not conceal it, and of ſome People who will be diſcover'd by the

the Terror and Consternation which the Thing put them into.

I got myself discharg'd of the dangerous Office I was in, as soon as I cou'd get another admitted, who I had obtain'd for a little Mony to accept of it; and so, instead of serving the two Months, which was directed, I was not above three Weeks in it; and a great while too, considering it was in the Month of *August*, at which time the Distemper began to rage with great Violence at our end of the Town.

In the execution of this Office, I cou'd not refrain speaking my Opinion among my Neighbours, as to this shutting up the People in their Houses; in which we saw most evidently the Severities that were used *tho' grievous in themselves*, had also this particular Objection against them, namely, that they did not answer the End, *as I have said*, but that the distemper'd People went Day by Day about the Streets; and it was our united Opinion, that a Method to have removed the Sound from the Sick in Case of a particular House being visited, wou'd ha' been much more reasonable on many Accounts, leaving no Body with the sick Persons, but such as shou'd on such Occasion request to stay and declare themselves content to be shut up with them.

Our Scheme for removing those that were Sound from those that were Sick, was only in such Houses as were infected, and confining the sick was no Confinement; those that cou'd not stir, wou'd not complain, while they were in their Senses, and while they had the Power of judging: Indeed, when they came to be Dilirious and Light-headed, then they wou'd cry out of the Cruelty of being confin'd; but for the removal of those that were well, we thought it highly reasonable and just, for their own sakes, they shou'd be remov'd from the Sick, and that, for other People's Safety, they shou'd keep retir'd for a while,

to see that they were sound, and might not infect others; and we thought twenty or thirty Days enough for this.

Now certainly, if Houses had been provided on purpose for those that were found to perform this demy Quarantine in, they wou'd have much less Reason to think themselves injur'd in such a restraint, than in being confin'd with infected People, in the Houses where they liv'd.

It is here, however, to be observ'd, that after the Funerals became so many, that People could not Toll the Bell, Mourn, or Weep, or wear Black for one another, as they did before; no, nor so much as make Coffins for those that died; so after a while the fury of the Infection appeared to be so encreased, that in short, they shut up no Houses at all; it seem'd enough that all the Remedies of that Kind had been used till they were found fruitless, and that the Plague spread itself with an irresistible Fury, so that, as the Fire the succeeding Year, spread itself and burnt with such Violence, that the Citizens in Despair, gave over their Endeavours to extinguish it, so in the Plague, it came at last to such Violence that the People sat still looking at one another, and seem'd quite abandon'd to Despair; whole Streets seem'd to be desolated, and not to be shut up only, but to be emptied of their Inhabitants; Doors were left open, Windows stood shattering with the Wind in empty Houses, for want of People to shut them: In a Word, People began to give up themselves to their Fears, and to think that all regulations and Methods were in vain, and that there was nothing to be hoped for, but an universal Desolation; and it was even in the height of this general Despair, that it pleased God to stay his Hand, and to slacken the Fury of the Contagion, in such a manner as was even surprizing like its beginning, and demonstrated it to be his own particular Hand, and that above, if

not

not without the Agency of Means, as I ſhall take Notice of in its proper Place.

But I muſt ſtill ſpeak of the Plague as in its height, raging even to Deſolation, and the People under the moſt dreadful Conſternation, even, as I have ſaid, to Deſpair. It is hardly credible to what Exceſſes the Paſſions of Men carry'd them in this Extremity of the Diſtemper; and this Part, I think, was as moving as the reſt; What cou'd affect a Man in his full Power of Reflection; and what could make deeper Impreſſions on the Soul, than to ſee a Man almoſt Naked and got out of his Houſe, or perhaps out of his Bed into the Street, come out of *Harrow-Alley*, a populous Conjunction or Collection of Alleys, Courts, and Paſſages, in the Butcher-row in *Whitechappel?* I ſay, What could be more Affecting, than to ſee this poor Man come out into the open Street, run Dancing and Singing, and making a thouſand antick Geſtures, with five or ſix Women and Children running after him, crying, and calling upon him, for the Lord's ſake to come back, and entreating the help of others to bring him back, but all in vain, no Body daring to lay a Hand upon him, or to come near him.

This was a moſt grievous and afflicting thing to me, who ſee it all from my own Windows; for all this while, the poor afflicted Man, was, as I obſerv'd it, even then in the utmoſt Agony of Pain, having, as they ſaid, two Swellings upon him, which cou'd not be brought to break, or to ſuppurate; but by laying ſtrong Cauſticks on them, the Surgeons had, it ſeems, hopes to break them, which Cauſticks were then upon him, burning his Fleſh as with a hot Iron: I cannot ſay what became of this poor Man, but I think he continu'd roving about in that manner till he fell down and Died.

No wonder the Aſpect of the City itſelf was frightful, the uſual concourſe of People in the Streets,

and which used to be supplied from our end of the Town, was abated; the Exchange was not kept shut indeed, but it was no more frequented; the Fires were lost; they had been almost extinguished for some Days by a very smart and hasty Rain: But that was not all, some of the Physicians insisted that they were not only no Benefit, but injurious to the Health of People: This they made a loud Clamour about, and complain'd to the Lord Mayor about it: On the other Hand, others of the same Faculty, and Eminent too, oppos'd them, and gave their Reasons why the Fires were and must be useful to asswage the Violence of the Distemper. I cannot give a full Account of their Arguments on both Sides, only this I remember, that they cavil'd very much with one another; some were for Fires, but that they must be made of Wood and not Coal, and of particular sorts of Wood too, such as Fir in particular, or Cedar, because of the strong effluvia of Turpentine; Others were for Coal and not Wood, because of the Sulphur and Bitumen; and others were for neither one or other. Upon the whole, the Lord Mayor ordered no more Fires, and especially on this Account, namely, that the Plague was so fierce that they saw evidently it defied all Means and rather seemed to encrease than decrease upon any application to check and abate it; and yet this Amazement of the Magistrates, proceeded rather from want of being able to apply any Means successfully, than from any unwillingness either to expose themselves, or undertake the Care and Weight of Business; for, to do them Justice, they neither spared their Pains or their Persons; but nothing answer'd, the Infection rag'd, and the People were now frighted and terrified to the last Degree, so that, as I may say, they gave themselves up, and, as I mention'd above, abandon'd themselves to their Despair.

But

But let me obſerve here, that when I ſay the People abandon'd themſelves to Deſpair, I do not mean to what Men call a religious Deſpair, or a Deſpair of their eternal State, but I mean a Deſpair of their being able to eſcape the Infection, or to out-live the Plague, which they ſaw was ſo raging and ſo irreſiſtible in its Force, that indeed few People that were touch'd with it in its height about *Auguſt*, and *September*, eſcap'd: And, which is very particular, contrary to its ordinary Operation in *June* and *July*, and the beginning of *Auguſt*, when, as I have obſerv'd many were infected, and continued ſo many Days, and then went off, after having had the Poiſon in their Blood a long time; but now on the contrary, moſt of the People who were taken during the two laſt Weeks in *Auguſt*, and in the three firſt Weeks in *September*, generally died in two or three Days at fartheſt, and many the very ſame Day they were taken; Whether the Dog-days, or as our Aſtrologers pretended to expreſs themſelves, the Influence of the Dog-Star had that malignant Effect; or all thoſe who had the ſeeds of Infection before in them, brought it up to a maturity at that time altogether I know not; but this was the time when it was reported, that above 3000 People died in one Night; and they that wou'd have us believe they more critically obſerv'd it, pretend to ſay, that they all died within the ſpace of two Hours, (*viz.*) Between the Hours of One and three in the Morning.

As to the Suddenneſs of People's dying at this time more than before, there were innumerable Inſtances of it, and I could name ſeveral in my Neighbourhood; one Family without the Barrs, and not far from me, were all ſeemingly well on the Monday, being Ten in Family, that Evening one Maid and one Apprentice were taken ill, and dy'd the next Morning, when the other Apprentice and two Children were

were touch'd, whereof one dy'd the ſame Evening, and the other two on Wedneſday: In a Word, by Saturday at Noon, the Maſter, Miſtreſs, four Children and four Servants were all gone, and the Houſe left entirely empty, except an ancient Woman, who came in to take Charge of the Goods for the Maſter of the Family's Brother, who liv'd not far off, and who had not been ſick.

Many Houſes were then left deſolate, all the People being carry'd away dead, and eſpecially in an Alley farther, on the ſame Side beyond the Barrs, going in at the Sign of *Moſes* and *Aaron*; there were ſeveral Houſes together, which (they ſaid) had not one Perſon left alive in them, and ſome that dy'd laſt in ſeveral of thoſe Houſes, were left a little too long before they were fetch'd out to be bury'd; the Reaſon of which was not as ſome have written very untruly, that the living were not ſufficient to bury the dead; but that the Mortality was ſo great in the Yard or Alley, that there was no Body left to give Notice to the Buriers or Sextons, that there were any dead Bodies there to be bury'd. It was ſaid, how true I know not, that ſome of thoſe Bodies were ſo much corrupted, and ſo rotten, that it was with Difficulty they were carry'd; and as the Carts could not come any nearer than to the Alley-Gate in the high Street, it was ſo much the more difficult to bring them along; but I am not certain how many Bodies were then left, I am ſure that ordinarily it was not ſo.

As I have mention'd how the People were brought into a Condition to deſpair of Life and abandon themſelves, ſo this very Thing had a ſtrange Effect among us for three or four Weeks, that is, it made them bold and venturous, they were no more ſhy of one another, or reſtrained within Doors, but went any where and every where, and began to converſe; one would ſay to another, I do not ask you how you are, or ſay how I am, it is certain we ſhall all go,

ſo

ſo 'tis no Matter who is ſick or who is ſound, and ſo they run deſperately into any Place or any Company.

As it brought the People into publick Company, ſo it was ſurprizing how it brought them to crowd into the Churches, they inquir'd no more into who they ſat near to, or far from, what offenſive Smells they met with, or what condition the People ſeemed to be in, but looking upon themſelves all as ſo many dead Corpſes, they came to the Churches without the leaſt Caution, and crowded together, as if their Lives were of no Conſequence, compar'd to the Work which they came about there: Indeed, the Zeal which they ſhew'd in Coming, and the Earneſtneſs and Affection they ſhew'd in their Attention to what they heard, made it manifeſt what a Value People would all put upon the Worſhip of God, if they thought every Day they attended at the Church that it would be their Laſt.

Nor was it without other ſtrange Effects, for it took away all Manner of Prejudice at, or Scruple about the Perſon who they found in the Pulpit when they came to the Churches. It cannot be doubted, but that many of the Miniſters of the Pariſh-Churches were cut off among others in ſo common and ſo dreadful a Calamity; and others had not Courage enough to ſtand it, but removed into the Country as they found Means for Eſcape, as then ſome Pariſh-Churches were quite vacant and forſaken, the People made no Scruple of deſiring ſuch Diſſenters as had been a few Years before depriv'd of their Livings, by Virtue of the Act of Parliament call'd, *The Act of Uniformity* to preach in the Churches, nor did the Church Miniſters in that Caſe make any Difficulty of accepting their Aſſiſtance, ſo that many of thoſe who they called ſilenced Miniſters, had their Mouths open'd on this Occaſion, and preach'd publickly to the People.

Here

Here we may obſerve, and I hope it will not be amiſs to take notice of it, that a near View of Death would ſoon reconcile Men of good Principles one to another, and that it is chiefly owing to our eaſy Situation in Life, and our putting theſe Things far from us, that our Breaches are fomented, ill Blood continued, Prejudices, Breach of Charity and of Chriſtian Union ſo much kept and ſo far carry'd on among us, as it is: Another Plague Year would reconcile all theſe Differences, a cloſe converſing with Death, or with Diſeaſes that threaten Death, would ſcum off the Gall from our Tempers, remove the Animoſities among us, and bring us to ſee with differing Eyes, than thoſe which we look'd on Things with before; as the People who had been uſed to join with the Church, were reconcil'd at this Time, with the admitting the Diſſenters to preach to them: So the Diſſenters, who with an uncommon Prejudice, had broken off from the Communion of the Church of England, were now content to come to their Pariſh-Churches, and to conform to the Worſhip which they did not approve of before; but as the Terror of the Infection abated, thoſe Things all returned again to their leſs deſirable Channel, and to the Courſe they were in before.

I mention this but hiſtorically, I have no mind to enter into Arguments to move either, or both Sides to a more charitable Compliance one with another; I do not ſee that it is probable ſuch a Diſcourſe would be either ſuitable or ſucceſsful; the Breaches ſeem rather to widen, and tend to a widening farther, than to cloſing, and who am I that I ſhould think myſelf able to influence either one Side or other? But this I may repeat again, that 'tis evident Death will reconcile us all; on the other Side the Grave we ſhall be all Brethren again: In Heaven, whether, I hope we may come from all

Parties

Parties and Perſwaſions, we ſhall find neither Prejudice or Scruple; there we ſhall be of one Principle and of one Opinion, why we cannot be content to go Hand in Hand to the Place where we ſhall join Heart and Hand without the leaſt Heſitation, and with the moſt compleat Harmony and Affection; I ſay, why we cannot do ſo here I can ſay nothing to, neither ſhall I ſay any thing more of it, but that it remains to be lamented.

I could dwell a great while upon the Calamities of this dreadful time, and go on to deſcribe the Objects that appear'd among us every Day, the dreadful Extravagancies which the Diſtraction of ſick People drove them into; how the Streets began now to be fuller of frightful Objects, and Families to be made even a Terror to themſelves: But after I have told you, as I have above, that One Man being tyed in his Bed, and finding no other Way to deliver himſelf, ſet the Bed on fire with his Candle, which unhappily ſtood within his reach, and Burnt himſelf in his Bed. And how another, by the inſufferable Torment he bore, daunced and ſung naked in the Streets, not knowing one Extaſie from another, I ſay, after I have mention'd theſe Things, What can be added more? What can be ſaid to repreſent the Miſery of theſe Times, more lively to the Reader, or to give him a more perfect Idea of a complicated Diſtreſs?

I muſt acknowledge that this time was Terrible, that I was ſometimes at the End of all my Reſolutions, and that I had not the Courage that I had at the Beginning. As the Extremity brought other People abroad, it drove me Home, and except, having made my Voyage down to *Blackwall* and *Greenwich*, as I have related, which was an Excurſion, I kept afterwards very much within Doors, as I had for about a Fortnight before; I have ſaid already, that I repented ſeveral times that I had ventur'd

ventur'd to ſtay in Town, and had not gone away with my Brother, and his Family, but it was too late for that now; and after I had retreated and ſtay'd within Doors a good while, before my Impatience led me Abroad, than they call'd me, as I have ſaid, to an ugly and dangerous Office, which brought me out again; but as that was expir'd, while the hight of the Diſtemper laſted, I retir'd again, and continued cloſe ten or twelve Days more. During which many diſmal Spectacles repreſented themſelves in my View, out of my own Windows, and in our own Street, as that perticularly from *Harrow-Alley*, of the poor outrageous Creature which danced and ſung in his Agony, and many others there were: Scarſe a Day or Night paſs'd over, but ſome diſmal Thing or other happened at the End of that *Harrow-Alley*, which was a Place full of poor People, moſt of them belonging to the Butchers, or to Employments depending upon the Butchery.

Sometimes Heaps and Throngs of People would burſt out of that Alley, moſt of them Women, making a dreadful Clamour, mixt or Compounded of Skreetches, Ctyings and Calling one another, that we could not conceive what to make of it; almoſt all the dead Part of the Night the dead Cart ſtood at the End of that Alley, for if it went in it could not well turn again, and could go in but a little Way. There, I ſay, it ſtood to receive dead Bodys, and as the Church-Yard was but a little Way off, if it went away full it would ſoon be back again: It is impoſſible to deſcribe the moſt horrible Cries and Noiſe the poor People would make at their bringing the dead Bodies of their Children and Friends out to the Cart, and by the Number one would have thought, there had been none left behind, or that there were People enough for a ſmall City liveing in thoſe Places: Several times they cryed Murther, ſometimes Fire; but it

it was eſie to perceive it was all Diſtraction, and the Complaints of Diſtreſs'd and diſtemper'd People.

I believe it was every where thus at that time, for the Plague rag'd for ſix or ſeven Weeks beyond all that I have expreſs'd; and came even to ſuch a height, that in the Extremity, they began to break into that excellent Order, of which I have ſpoken ſo much, in behalf of the Magiſtrates, namely, that no dead Bodies were ſeen in the Streets or Burials in the Day-time, for there was a Neceſſity, in this Extremety, to bear with its being otherwiſe, for a little while.

One thing I cannot omit here, and indeed I thought it was extraordinary, at leaſt, it ſeemed a remarkable Hand of Divine Juſtice, *(viz.)* That all the Predictors, Aſtrologers, Fortune-tellers, and what they call'd cunning-Men, Conjurers, and the like; calculators of Nativities, and dreamers of Dreams, and ſuch People, were gone and vaniſh'd, not one of them was to be found: I am, verily, perſwaded that a great Number of them fell in the heat of the Calamity, having ventured to ſtay upon the Proſpect of getting great Eſtates; and indeed their Gain was but too great for a time through the Madneſs and Folly of the People; but now they were ſilent, many of them went to their long Home, not able to foretel their own Fate, or to calculate their own Nativities; ſome have been critical enough to ſay, that every one of them dy'd; I dare not affirm that; but this I muſt own, that I never heard of one of them that ever appear'd after the Calamity was over.

But to return to my particular Obſervations, during this dreadful part of the Viſitation: I am now come, as I have ſaid, to the Month of *September*, which was the moſt dreadful of its kind, I believe, that ever *London* ſaw; for by all the Accounts

counts which I have seen of the preceding Visitations which have been in *London*, nothing has been like it; the Number in the Weekly Bill amounting to almost 40,000 from the 22d of *August*, to the 26th of *September*, being but five Weeks, the particulars of the Bills are as follows, *(viz.)*

From *August* the 22d to the 29th	7496
To the 7th of *September*	8252
To the 12th	7690
To the 19th	8297
To the 26th	6460
	38195

This was a prodigious Number of itself, but if I should add the Reasons which I have to believe that this Account was deficient, and how deficient it was, you would with me, make no Scruple to believe that there died above ten Thousand a Week for all those Weeks, one Week with another, and a proportion for several Weeks both before and after: The Confusion among the People, especially within the City at that time, was inexpressible; the Terror was so great at last, that the Courage of the People appointed to carry away the Dead, began to fail them; nay, several of them died altho' they had the Distemper before, and were recover'd; and some of them drop'd down when they have been carrying the Bodies even at the Pitside, and just ready to throw them in; and this Confusion was greater in the City, because they had flatter'd themselves with Hopes of escaping: And thought the bitterness of Death was past: One Cart they told us, going up *Shoreditch*, was forsaken of the Drivers, or being left to one Man to drive, he died in the Street, and the Horses going on, overthrew the Cart, and left the Bodies, some thrown out here, some there, in a dismal manner; Another Cart was it seems found in the great

Pit

Pit in *Finsbury* Fields, the Driver being Dead, or having been gone and abandon'd it, and the Horses running too near it, the Cart fell in and drew the Horses in also: It was suggested that the Driver was thrown in with it, and that the Cart fell upon him, by Reason his Whip was seen to be in the Pit among the Bodies; but that, I suppose, cou'd not be certain.

In our Parish of *Aldgate*, the dead-Carts were several times, as I have heard, found standing at the Church-yard Gate, full of dead Bodies, but neither Bell man or Driver, or any one else with it; neither in these, or many other Cases, did they know what Bodies they had in their Cart, for sometimes they were let down with Ropes out of Balconies and out of Windows; and sometimes the Bearers brought them to the Cart, sometimes other People; nor, *as the Men themselves said*, did they trouble themselves to keep any Account of the Numbers.

The Vigilance of the Magistrate was now put to the utmost Trial, and it must be confess'd, can never be enough acknowledg'd on this Occasion also, whatever Expence or Trouble they were at, two Things were never neglected in the City or Suburbs either.

1. Provisions were always to be had in full Plenty, and the Price not much rais'd neither, hardly worth speaking.

2. No dead Bodies lay unburied or uncovered; and if one walk'd from one end of the City to another, no Funeral or sign of it was to be seen in the Day-time, except a little, as I have said above, in the three first Weeks in *September*.

This last Article perhaps will hardly be believ'd, when some Accounts which others have published since that shall be seen, wherein they say, that the Dead lay unburied, which I am assured was utterly false;

false; at least, if it had been any where so, it must ha' been in Houses where the Living were gone from the Dead, having found means, as I have observed, to Escape, and where no Notice was given to the Officers: All which amounts to nothing at all in the Case in Hand; for this I am positive in, having myself been employ'd a little in the Direction of that part in the Parish in which I liv'd, and where as great a Desolation was made in proportion to the Number of Inhabitants as was any where. I say, I am sure that there were no dead Bodies remain'd unburied; that is to say, none that the proper Officers knew of; none for want of People to carry them off, and Buriers to put them into the Ground and cover them; and this is sufficient to the Argument; for what might lie in Houses and Holes as in *Moses* and *Aaron* Ally is nothing; for it is most certain, they were buried as soon as they were found. As to the first Article, namely, of Provisions, the scarcity or dearness, tho' I have mention'd it before, and shall speak of it again; yet I must observe here,

(1.) The Price of Bread in particular was not much raised; for in the beginning of the Year (*viz.*) In the first Week in *March*, the Penny Wheaten Loaf was ten Ounces and a half; and in the height of the Contagion, it was to be had at nine Ounces and an half, and never dearer, no not all that Season: And about the beginning of *November* it was sold ten Ounces and a half again; the like of which, I believe, was never heard of in any City, under so dreadful a Visitation before.

(2.) Nei-

(2.) Neither was there (which I wondred much at) any want of Bakers or Ovens kept open to ſupply the People with Bread; but this was indeed alledg'd by ſome Families, *viz.* That their Maid-Servants going to the Bake-houſes with their Dough to be baked, which was then the Cuſtom, ſometimes came Home with the Sickneſs, that is to ſay, the Plague upon them.

In all this dreadful Viſitation, there were, as I have ſaid before, but two Peſt-houſes made uſe of, *viz.* One in the Fields beyond *Old-Street*, and one in *Weſtminſter*; neither was there any Compulſion us'd in carrying People thither: Indeed there was no need of Compulſion in the Caſe, for there were Thouſands of poor diſtreſſed People, who having no Help, or Conveniences, or Supplies but of Charity, would have been very glad to have been carryed thither, and been taken Care of, which indeed was the only thing that, I think, was wanting in the whole publick Management of the City; ſeeing no Body was here allow'd to be brought to the Peſt-houſe, but where Money was given, or Security for Money, either at their introducing, or upon their being cur'd and ſent out; for very many were ſent out again whole, and very good Phyſicians were appointed to thoſe Places, ſo that many People did very well there, of which I ſhall make Mention again. The principal Sort of People ſent thither were, as I have ſaid, Servants, who got the Diſtemper by going of Errands to fetch Neceſſaries to the Families where they liv'd; and who in that Caſe, if they came Home ſick, were remov'd to preſerve the reſt of the Houſe; and they were ſo well look'd after there in all the time of the Viſitation, that there was but 156 buried in all at the *London* Peſt-houſe, and 159 at that of *Weſtminſter*.

By having more Peſt-houſes, I am far from meaning a forcing all People into ſuch Places. Had the

ſhutting up of Houſes been omitted, and the Sick hurried out of their Dwellings to Peſt-houſes, as ſome propoſed it ſeems, at that time as well as ſince, it would certainly have been much worſe than it was; the very removing the Sick, would have been a ſpreading of the Infection, and the rather becauſe that removing could not effectually clear the Houſe, where the ſick Perſon was, of the Diſtemper, and the reſt of the Family being then left at Liberty would certainly ſpread it among others.

The Methods alſo in private Families, which would have been univerſally uſed to have concealed the Diſtemper, and to have conceal'd the Perſons being ſick, would have been ſuch, that the Diſtemper would ſometimes have ſeiz'd a whole Family before any Viſitors or Examiners could have known of it: On the other hand, the prodigious Numbers which would have been ſick at a time, would have exceeded all the Capacity of publick Peſt-houſes to receive them, or of publick Officers to diſcover and remove them.

This was well conſidered in thoſe Days, and I have heard them talk of it often: The Magiſtrates had enough to do to bring People to ſubmit to having their Houſes ſhut up, and many Ways they deceived the Watchmen, and got out, as I have obſerved: But that Difficulty made it apparent, that they would have found it impracticable to have gone the other way to Work; for they could never have forced the ſick People out of their Beds and out of their Dwellings; it muſt not have been my Lord Mayor's Officers, but an Army of Officers that muſt have attempted it; and the People, on the other hand, would have been enrag'd and deſperate, and would have kill'd thoſe that ſhould have offered to have meddled with them or with their Children and Relations, whatever had befallen them for it; ſo that they would have made the People, who, *as it was*, were in the moſt terrible Diſtraction imaginable; I

ſay

ſay, they would have made them ſtark mad; whereas the Magiſtrates found it proper on ſeveral Accounts to treat them with Lenity and Compaſſion, and not with Violence and Terror, ſuch as dragging the Sick out of their Houſes, or obliging them to remove themſelves would have been.

This leads me again to mention the Time, when the Plague firſt began, that is to ſay, when it became certain that it would ſpread over the whole Town, when, as I have ſaid, the better ſort of People firſt took the Alarm, and began to hurry themſelves out of Town: It was true, as I obſerv'd in its Place, that the Throng was ſo great, and the Coaches, Horſes, Waggons and Carts were ſo many, driving and dragging the People away, that it look'd as if all the City was running away; and had any Regulations been publiſh'd that had been terrifying at that time, eſpecially ſuch as would pretend to diſpoſe of the People, otherwiſe than they would diſpoſe of themſelves, it would have put both the City and Suburbs into the utmoſt Confuſion.

But the Magiſtrates wiſely caus'd the People to be encourag'd, made very good By-Laws for the regulating the Citizens, keeping good Order in the Streets, and making every thing as eligible as poſſible to all Sorts of People.

In the firſt Place, the Lord Mayor and the Sheriffs, the Court of Aldermen, and a certain Number of the Common Council-Men, or their Deputies came to a Reſolution and publiſhed it, *viz.* "That *they* "would not quit the City themſelves, but that they "would be always at hand for the preſerving good "Order in every Place, and for the doing Juſtice on "all Occaſions; as alſo for the diſtributing the "publick Charity to the Poor; and in a Word, for "the doing the Duty, and diſcharging the Truſt "repos'd in them by the Citizens to the utmoſt of "their Power.

In Pursuance of these Orders, the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, &c. held Councils every Day more or less, for making such Dispositions as they found needful for preserving the Civil Peace; and tho' they used the People with all possible Gentleness and Clemency, yet all manner of presumptuous Rogues, such as Thieves, House-breakers, Plunderers of the Dead, or of the Sick, were duly punish'd, and several Declarations were continually publish'd by the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen against such.

Also all Constables and Church-wardens were enjoin'd to stay in the City upon severe Penalties, or to depute such able and sufficient House-keepers, as the Deputy Aldermen, or Common Council-men of the Precinct should approve, and for whom they should give Security; and also Security in case of Mortality, that they would forthwith constitute other Constables in their stead.

These things re-establish'd the Minds of the People very much, especially in the first of their Fright, when they talk'd of making so universal a Flight, that the City would have been in Danger of being entirely deserted of its Inhabitants, except the Poor; and the Country of being plunder'd and laid waste by the Multitude. Nor were the Magistrates deficient in performing their Part as boldly as they promised it; for my Lord Mayor and the Sheriffs were continually in the Streets, and at places of the greatest Danger; and tho' they did not care for having too great a Resort of People crouding about them, yet, in emergent Cases, they never denyed the People Access to them, and heard with Patience all their Grievances and Complaints; my Lord Mayor had a low Gallery built on purpose in his Hall, where he stood a little remov'd from the Croud when any Complaint came to be heard, that he might appear with as much Safety as possible.

Likewise

Likewiſe, the proper Officers, call'd *my Lord Mayor's Officers*, conſtantly attended in their Turns, as they were *in waiting*; and if any of them were ſick or infected, as ſome of them were, others were inſtantly employed to fill up and officiate in their Places, till it was known whether the other ſhould live or die.

In like manner the Sheriffs and Aldermen did in their ſeveral Stations and Wards, where they were placed by Office; and the Sheriff's Officers or Sergeants were appointed to receive Orders from the reſpective Aldermen in their Turn; ſo that Juſtice was executed in all Caſes without Interruption. In the next Place, it was one of their particular Cares, to ſee the Orders for the Freedom of the Markets obſerv'd; and in this part either the Lord Mayor, or one or both of the Sheriffs, were every Market-day on Horſeback to ſee their Orders executed, and to ſee that the Country People had all poſſible Encouragement and Freedom in their coming to the Markets, and going back again; and that no Nuſances or frightful Objects ſhould be ſeen in the Streets to terrify them, or make them unwilling to come. Alſo the Bakers were taken under particular Order, and the Maſter of the Bakers Company was, with his Court of Aſſiſtance, directed to ſee the Order of my Lord Mayor for their Regulation put in Execution, and the due Aſſize of Bread, which was weekly appointed by my Lord Mayor, obſerv'd, and all the Bakers were oblig'd to keep their Ovens going conſtantly, on pain of loſing the Privileges of a Freeman of the City of *London*.

By this means, Bread was always to be had in Plenty, and as cheap as uſual, as I ſaid above; and Proviſions were never wanting in the Markets, even to ſuch a Degree, that I often wonder'd at it, and reproach'd my ſelf with being ſo timorous and cau-

tious in ſtirring abroad, when the Country People came freely and boldly to Market, as if there had been no manner of Infection in the City, or Danger of catching it.

It was indeed one admirable piece of Conduct in the ſaid Magiſtrates, that the Streets were kept conſtantly clear, and free from all manner of frightful Objects, dead Bodies, or any ſuch things as were indecent or unpleaſant, unleſs where any Body fell down ſuddenly or died in the Streets, *as I have ſaid above*, and theſe were generally covered with ſome Cloth or Blanket, or remov'd into the next Church-yard, till Night: All the needful Works, that carried Terror with them, that were both diſmal and dangerous, were done in the Night; if any diſeas'd Bodies were remov'd, or dead Bodies buried, or infected Cloths burnt, it was done in the Night; and all the Bodies, which were thrown into the great Pits in the ſeveral Church-yards, or burying Grounds, *as has been obſerv'd*, were ſo remov'd in the Night; and every thing was covered and cloſed before Day: So that in the Day-time there was not the leaſt Signal of the Calamity to be ſeen or heard of, except what was to be obſerv'd from the Emptineſs of the Streets, and ſometimes from the paſſionate Outcries and Lamentations of the People, out at their Windows, and from the Numbers of Houſes and Shops ſhut up.

Nor was the Silence and Emptineſs of the Streets ſo much in the City as in the Out-parts, except juſt at one particular time, when, as I have mention'd, the Plague came Eaſt, and ſpread over all the City: It was indeed a merciful Diſpoſition of God, that as the Plague began at one End of the Town firſt, *as has been obſerv'd at large*, ſo it proceeded progreſſively to other Parts, and did not come on this way or Eaſtward, till it had ſpent its Fury in the Weſt part of the

the Town; and so as it came on one way, it abated another. *For Example.*

It began at St. *Giles*'s and the *Westminster* End of the Town, and it was in its Height in all that part by about the Middle of *July*, *viz.* in St. *Giles* in the *Fields*, St. *Andrew's Holborn*, St. *Clement-Danes*, St. *Martins* in the *Fields*, and in *Westminster*: The latter End of *July* it decreased in those Parishes, and coming East, it encreased prodigiously in *Cripplegate*, St. *Sepulchers*, St. *Ja. Clarkenwell*, and St. *Brides*, and *Aldersgate*; while it was in all these Parishes, the City and all the Parishes of the *Southwark* Side of the Water, and all *Stepney*, *White-Chapel*, *Aldgate*, *Wapping*, and *Ratcliff* were very little touch'd; so that People went about their Business unconcern'd, carryed on their Trades, kept open their Shops, and conversed freely with one another in all the City, the East and North-East Suburbs, and in *Southwark*, almost as if the Plague had not been among us.

Even when the North and North-west Suburbs were fully infected, *viz.* *Cripplegate*, *Clarkenwell*, *Bishopsgate*, and *Shoreditch*, yet still all the rest were tolerably well. For Example,

From 25th *July* to 1st *August* the Bill stood thus of all Diseases;

St. *Giles Cripplegate*	554
St. *Sepulchers*	250
Clarkenwell	103
Bishopsgate	116
Shoreditch	110
Stepney Parish	127
Aldgate	92
White-Chappel	104
All the 97 Parishes within the Walls	228
All the Parishes in *Southwark*	205
	1889

So that in short there died more that Week in the two Parishes of *Cripplegate* and St. *Sepulchers* by 48 than in all the City, and all the East Suburbs, and all the *Southwark* Parishes put together: This caused the Reputation of the City's Health to continue all over *England*, and especially in the Counties and Markets adjacent, from whence our Supply of Provisions chiefly came, even much longer than that Health it self continued; for when the People came into the Streets from the Country, by *Shoreditch* and *Bishopsgate*, or by *Oldstreet* and *Smithfield*, they would see the out Streets empty, and the Houses and Shops shut, and the few People that were stirring there walk in the Middle of the Streets; but when they came within the City, *there things look'd better*, and the Markets and Shops were open, and the People walking about the Streets as usual, tho' not quite so many; and this continued till the latter End of *August*, and the Beginning of *September*.

But then the Case alter'd quite, the Distemper abated in the West and North-West Parishes, and the Weight of the Infection lay on the City and the Eastern Suburbs and the *Southwark* Side, and this in a frightful manner.

Then indeed the City began to look dismal, Shops to be shut, and the Streets desolate; in the High-Street indeed Necessity made People stir abroad on many Occasions; and there would be in the middle of the Day a pretty many People, but in the Mornings and Evenings scarce any to be seen, even there, no not in *Cornhill* and *Cheapside*.

These Observations of mine were abundantly confirm'd by the Weekly Bills of Mortality for those Weeks, an Abstract of which, as they respect the Parishes which I have mention'd, and as they make the Calculations I speak of very evident, take as follows.

The Weekly Bill, which makes out this Decrease of the Burials in the West and North side of the City, stand thus.

From

From the 12th of *September* to the 19th.

St. *Giles's Cripplegate*	456
St. *Giles* in the Fields	140
Clarkenwell	77
St. *Sepulchers*	214
St. *Leonard Shoreditch*	183
Stepney Pariſh	716
Aldgate	623
White-Chapel	532
In the 97 Pariſhes within the Walls	1493
In the 8 Pariſhes on *Southwark* Side	1636
	6060

Here is a ſtrange change of Things indeed, and a ſad Change it was, and had it held for two Months more than it did, very few People would have been left alive: But then ſuch, I ſay, was the merciful Diſpoſition of God, that when it was thus the Weſt and North part which had been ſo dreadfully viſited at firſt, grew *as you ſee*, much better; and as the People diſappear'd here, they began to look abroad again there; and the next Week or two altered it ſtill more, that is, more to the Encouragement of the other Part of the Town. *For Example:*

From the 19th of *September* to the 26th;

St. *Giles's Cripplegate*	277
St. *Giles* in the Fields	119
Clarkenwell	76
St. *Sepulchers*	193
St. *Leonard Shoreditch*	146
Stepney Pariſh	616
Aldgate	496
White-Chapel	346
In the 97 Pariſhes within the Walls	1268
In the 8 Pariſhes on *Southwark* Side	1390
	4900

From

From the 26th of *Septemb.* to the 3d of *October.*

St. *Giles's Cripplegate*	196
St. *Giles* in the Fields	95
Clarkenwell	48
St. *Sepulchers*	137
St. *Leonard Shoreditch*	128
Stepney Pariſh	674
Aldgate	372
White-Chapel	328
In the 97 Pariſhes within the Walls	1149
In the 8 Pariſhes on *Southwark* Side	1201
	4328

And now the Miſery of the City, and of the ſaid Eaſt and South Parts was complete indeed; for as you ſee the Weight of the Diſtemper lay upon thoſe Parts, that is to ſay, the City, the eight Pariſhes over the River, with the Pariſhes of *Aldgate*, *White-Chapel*, and *Stepney*, and this was the Time that the Bills came up to ſuch a monſtrous Height, as that I mention'd before; and that Eight or Nine, and, as I believe, Ten or Twelve Thouſand a Week died; for 'tis my ſettled Opinion, that they never could come at any juſt Account of the Numbers, for the Reaſons which I have given already.

Nay one of the moſt eminent Phyſicians, who has ſince publiſh'd in Latin an Account of thoſe Times, and of his Obſervations, ſays, that in one Week there died twelve Thouſand People, and that particularly there died four Thouſand in one Night; tho' I do not remember that there ever was any ſuch particular Night, ſo remarkably fatal, as that ſuch a Number died in it: However all this confirms what I have ſaid above of the Uncertainty of the Bills of Mortality, *&c.* of which I ſhall ſay more hereafter.

And

And here let me take leave to enter again, tho' it may seem a Repetition of Circumstances, into a Description of the miserable Condition of the City it self, and of those Parts where I liv'd at this particular Time: The City, and those other Parts, notwithstanding the great Numbers of People that were gone into the Country, was vastly full of People, and perhaps the fuller, because People had for a long time a strong Belief, that the Plague would not come into the City, nor into *Southwark*, no nor into *Wapping*, or *Ratcliff* at all; nay such was the Assurance of the People on that Head, that many remov'd from the Suburbs on the West and North Sides, into those Eastern and South Sides as for Safety, and as I verily believe, carry'd, the Plague amongst them there, perhaps sooner than they would otherwise have had it.

Here also I ought to leave a farther Remark for the use of Posterity, concerning the Manner of Peoples infecting one another; namely, that it was not the sick People only, from whom the Plague was immediately receiv'd by others that were sound, but THE WELL. *To explain my self*; by *the sick* People I mean those who were known to be sick, had taken their Beds, had been under Cure, or had Swellings and Tumours upon them, and the like; these every Body could beware of, they were either in their Beds, or in such Condition as cou'd not be conceal'd.

By *the Well*, I mean such as had received the Contagion, and had it really upon them, and in their Blood, yet did not shew the Consequences of it in their Countenances, nay even were not sensible of it themselves, *as many were not* for several Days: These breathed Death in every Place, and upon every Body who came near them; nay their very Cloaths retained the Infection, their Hands would infect the Things they touch'd, especially if they were warm

and sweaty, and they were generally apt to sweat too.

Now it was impossible to know these People, nor did they sometimes, as I have said, know themselves to be infected: These were the People that so often dropt down and fainted in the Streets; for oftentimes they would go about the Streets to the last, till on a sudden they would sweat, grow faint, sit down at a Door and die: It is true, finding themselves thus, they would struggle hard to get Home to their own Doors, or at other Times would be just able to go in to their Houses and die instantly; other Times they would go about till they had the very Tokens come out upon them, and yet not know it, and would die in an Hour or two after they came Home, but be well as long as they were Abroad: These were the dangerous People, these were the People of whom the well People ought to have been afraid; but then *on the other side* it was impossible to know them.

And this is the Reason why it is impossible in a Visitation to prevent the spreading of the Plague by the utmost human Vigilance, (*viz.*) that it is impossible to know the infected People from the sound; or that the infected People should perfectly know themselves: I knew a Man who conversed freely in *London* all the Season of the Plague in 1665, and kept about him an Antidote or Cordial, on purpose to take when he thought himself in any Danger, and he had such a Rule to know, or have warning of the Danger by, as indeed I never met with before or since, how far it may be depended on I know not: He had a Wound in his Leg, and whenever he came among any People that were not sound, and the Infection began to affect him, he said he could know it by that Signal, (*viz.*) That his Wound in his Leg would smart, and look pale and white; so as soon as ever he felt it smart, it

was

was time for him to withdraw, or to take care of himself, taking his Drink, which he always carried about him for that Purpose. Now it seems he found his Wound would smart many Times when he was in Company with such, who thought themselves to be sound, and who appear'd so to one another; but he would presently rise up, and say publickly, Friends, here is some Body in the Room that has the Plague, and so would immediately break up the Company. This was indeed a faithful Monitor to all People, that the Plague is not to be avoided by those that converse promiscuously in a Town infected, and People have it when they know it not, and that they likewise give it to others when they know not that they have it themselves; and in this Case, shutting up the WELL or removing the SICK will not do it, unless they can go back and shut up all those that the Sick had Convers'd with, even before they knew themselves to be sick, and none knows how far to carry that back, or where to stop; for none knows when, or where, or how they may have received the Infection, or from whom.

This I take to be the Reason, which makes so many People talk of the Air being corrupted and infected, and that they need not be cautious of whom they converse with, for that the Contagion was in the Air. I have seen them in strange Agitations and Surprises on this Account, I have never come near any infected Body! *says the disturbed Person*, I have Convers'd with none, but sound healthy People, and yet I have gotten the Distemper! I am sure I am struck from Heaven, *says another*, and he falls to the serious Part; again the first goes on exclaiming, I have come near no Infection, or any infected Person, *I am sure it is in the Air*; We draw in Death when we breath, and therefore 'tis the Hand of God, there is no withstanding it; and this at last made many People, being hardened to the Danger, grow

grow leſs concern'd at it, and leſs cautious towards the latter End of the Time, and when it was come to its height, than they were at firſt; then with a kind of a *Turkiſh* Predeſtinarianiſm, they would ſay, if it pleas'd God to ſtrike them, it was all one whether they went Abroad or ſtaid at Home, they cou'd not eſcape it, and therefore they went boldly about even into infected Houſes, and infected Company; viſited ſick People, and in ſhort, lay in the Beds with their Wives or Relations when they were infected; and what was the Conſequence? But the ſame that is the Conſequence in *Turkey*, and in thoſe Countries where they do thoſe Things; namely, that they were infected too, and died by Hundreds and Thouſands.

I would be far from leſſening the Awe of the Judgments of God, and the Reverence to his Providence, which ought always to be on our Minds on ſuch Occaſions as theſe; doubtleſs the Viſitation it ſelf is a Stroke from Heaven upon a City, or Country, or Nation where it falls; a Meſſenger of his Vengeance, and a loud Call to that Nation, or Country, or City, to Humiliation and Repentance, according to that of the Prophet *Jeremiah* xviii. 7, 8. *At what inſtant I ſhall ſpeak concerning a Nation, and concerning a Kingdom to pluck up, and to pull down, and deſtroy it: If that Nation againſt whom I have pronounced, turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil that I thought to do unto them.* Now to prompt due Impreſſions of the Awe of God on the Minds of Men on ſuch Occaſions, and not to leſſen them it is that I have left thoſe Minutes upon Record.

I ſay, therefore I reflect upon no Man for puting the Reaſon of thoſe Things upon the immediate Hand of God, and the Appointment and Direction of his Providence; nay, on the contrary, there were many wonderful Deliverances of Perſons from Infection, and Deliverances of Perſons when Infected

fected, which intimate ſingular and remarkable Providence, in the particular Inſtances to which they refer, and I eſteem my own Deliverance to be one next to miraculous, and do record it with Thankfulneſs.

But when I am ſpeaking of the Plague, as a Diſtemper ariſing from natural Cauſes, we muſt conſider it as it was really propagated by natural Means, nor is it at all the leſs a Judgment for its being under the Conduct of humane Cauſes and Effects; for as the divine Power has form'd the whole Scheme of Nature, and maintains Nature in its Courſe; ſo the ſame Power thinks fit to let his own Actings with Men, whether of Mercy or Judgment, go on in the ordinary Courſe of natural Cauſes, and he is pleaſed to act by thoſe natural Cauſes as the ordinary Means; excepting and reſerving to himſelf nevertheleſs a Power to act in a ſupernatural Way when he ſees occaſion: Now 'tis evident, that in the Caſe of an Infection, there is no apparent extraordinary occaſion for ſupernatural Operation, but the ordinary Courſe of Things appears ſufficiently arm'd, and made capable of all the Effects that Heaven uſually directs by a Contagion. Among theſe Cauſes and Effects this of the ſecret Conveyance of Infection imperceptible, and unavoidable, is more than ſufficient to execute the Fierceneſs of divine Vengeance, without putting it upon Supernaturals and Miracle.

The acute penetrating Nature of the Diſeaſe it ſelf was ſuch, and the Infection was receiv'd ſo imperceptibly, that the moſt exact Caution could not ſecure us while in the Place: But I muſt be allowed to believe, and I have ſo many Examples freſh in my Memory, to convince me of it, that I think none can reſiſt their Evidence; *I ſay*, I muſt be allowed to believe, that no one in this whole Nation ever receiv'd the Sickneſs or Infection, but who receiv'd

ceiv'd it in the ordinary Way of Infection from ſome Body, or the Cloaths, or touch, or ſtench of ſome Body that was infected before.

The Manner of its coming firſt to *London*, proves this alſo, (*viz.*) by Goods brought over from *Holland*, and brought thither from the *Levant*; the firſt breaking of it out in a Houſe in *Long-Acre*, where thoſe Goods were carried, and firſt opened; its ſpreading from that Houſe to other Houſes, by the viſible unwary converſing with thoſe who were ſick, and the infecting the Pariſh Officers who were employed about the Perſons dead, *and the like*; theſe are known Authorities for this great Foundation Point, that it went on, and proceeded from Perſon to Perſon, and from Houſe to Houſe, and no otherwiſe: In the firſt Houſe that was infected there died four Perſons, a Neighbour hearing the Miſtreſs of the firſt Houſe was ſick, went to viſit her, and went Home and gave the Diſtemper to her Family, and died, and all her Houſhold. A Miniſter call'd to pray with the firſt ſick Perſon in the ſecond Houſe, was ſaid to ſicken immediately, and die with ſeveral more in his Houſe: Then the Phyſicians began to conſider, for they did not at firſt dream of a general Contagion. But the Phyſicians being ſent to inſpect the Bodies, they aſſur'd the People that it was neither more or leſs than *the Plague* with all its terrifying Particulars, and that it threatned an univerſal Infection, ſo many People having already convers'd with the Sick or Diſtemper'd, and having, as might be ſuppos'd, received Infection from them, that it would be impoſſible to put a ſtop to it.

Here the Opinion of the Phyſicians agreed with my Obſervation afterwards, namely, that the Danger was ſpreading inſenſibly; for the Sick cou'd infect none but thoſe that came within reach of the ſick Perſon; but that one Man, who may have

really receiv'd the Infection, and knows it not, but goes Abroad, and about as a ſound Perſon, may give the Plague to a thouſand People, and they to greater Numbers in Proportion, and neither the Perſon giving the Infection, or the Perſons receiving it, know any thing of it, and perhaps not feel the Effects of it for ſeveral Days after.

For Example, Many Perſons in the Time of this Viſitation never perceiv'd that they were infected, till they found to their unſpeakable Surprize, the Tokens come out upon them, after which they ſeldom liv'd ſix Hours; for thoſe Spots they call'd the Tokens were really gangreen Spots, or mortified Fleſh in ſmall Knobs as broad as a little ſilver Peny, and hard as a piece of Callous or Horn; ſo that when the Diſeaſe was come up to that length, there was nothing could follow but certain Death, and yet *as I ſaid* they knew nothing of their being Infected, nor found themſelves ſo much as out of Order, till thoſe mortal Marks were upon them: But every Body muſt allow, that they were infected in a high Degree before, and muſt have been ſo ſome time; and conſequently their Breath, their Sweat, their very Cloaths were contagious for many Days before.

This occaſion'd a vaſt Variety of Caſes, which Phyſicians would have much more opportunity to remember than I; but ſome came within the Compaſs of my Obſervation, or hearing, of which I ſhall name a few.

A certain Citizen who had liv'd ſafe, and untouch'd, till the Month of *September*, when the Weight of the Diſtemper lay more in the City than it had done before, was mighty chearful, and ſomething too bold, as I think it was, in his Talk of how ſecure he was, how cautious he had been, and how he had never come near any ſick Body: Says another Citizen, a Neighbour of his to him,

one Day, *Do not be too confident* Mr. —— *it is hard to say who is sick and who is well; for we see Men alive, and well to outward Appearance one Hour, and dead the next. That is true*, says the first Man, for he was not a Man presumptuously secure, but had escap'd a long while, and Men, as I said above, especially in the City, began to be over-easie upon that Score. *That is true*, says he, I do not think my self secure, *but I hope I have not been in Company with any Person that there has been any Danger in.* No! Says his Neighbour, *was not you at the* Bull-head *Tavern in* Gracechurch Street *with* Mr. —— *the Night before last:* YES, says the first, *I was*, but *there was no Body there, that we had any Reason to think dangerous:* Upon which his Neigbour said no more, being unwilling to surprize him; but this made him more inquisitive, and as his Neighbour appear'd backward, he was the more impatient, and in a kind of Warmth, says he aloud, *why he is not dead, is he!* upon which his Neighbour still was silent, but cast up his Eyes, and said something to himself; at which the first Citizen turned pale, and said no more but this, *then I am a dead Man too*, and went Home immediately, and sent for a neighbouring Apothecary to give him something preventive, for he had not yet found himself ill; but the Apothecary opening his Breast, fetch'd a Sigh, and said no more, but this, *look up to God*; and the Man died in a few Hours.

Now let any Man judge from a Case like this, if it is possible for the Regulations of Magistrates, either by shuting up the Sick, or removing them, to stop an Infection, which spreads it self from Man to Man, even while they are perfectly well, and insensible of its Approach, and may be so for many Days.

It may be proper to ask here, how long it may be supposed, Men might have the Seeds of the Contagion

tagion in them, before it discover'd it self in this fatal Manner; and how long they might go about seemingly whole, and yet be contagious to all those that came near them? I believe the most experienc'd Physicians cannot answer this Question directly, any more than I can; and something an ordinary Observer may take notice of, which may pass their Observation. The opinion of Physicians Abroad seems to be, that it may lye Dormant in the Spirits, or in the Blood Vessels, a very considerable Time; why else do they exact a Quarentine of those who come into their Harbours, and Ports, from suspected Places? Forty Days is, one would think, too long for Nature to struggle with such an Enemy as this, and not conquer it, or yield to it: But I could not think by my own Observation that they can be infected so, as to be contagious to others, above fifteen or sixteen Days at fartheſt; and on that score it was, that when a House was shut up in the City, and any one had died of the Plague, but no Body appear'd to be ill in the Family for sixteen or eighteen Days after, they were not so strict, but that they would connive at their going privately Abroad; nor would People be much afraid of them afterward, but rather think they were fortified the better, having not been vulnerable when the Enemy was in their own House; but we sometimes found it had lyen much longer conceal'd.

Upon the foot of all these Observations, I must say, that tho' Providence seem'd to direct my Conduct to be otherwise; yet it is my opinion, and I must leave it as a Prescription, (*viz.*) *that the best Physick against the Plague is to run away from it.* I know People encourage themselves, by saying, God is able to keep us in the midst of Danger, and able to overtake us when we think our selves out of Danger; and this kept Thousands in the Town, whose Carcasses went into the great Pits by Cart

Loads; and who, if they had fled from the Danger, had, I believe, been safe from the Disaster; at least 'tis probable they had been safe.

And were this very Fundamental only duly consider'd by the People, on any future occasion of this, or the like Nature, I am persuaded it would put them upon quite different Measures for managing the People, from those that they took in 1665, or than any that have been taken Abroad that I have heard of; in a Word, they would consider of seperating the People into smaller Bodies, and removing them in Time farther from one another, and not let such a Contagion as this, which is indeed chiefly dangerous, to collected Bodies of People, find a Million of People in a Body together, as was very near the Case before, and would certainly be the Case, if it should ever appear again.

The Plague like a great Fire, if a few Houses only are contiguous where it happens, can only burn a few Houses; or if it begins in a single, or as we call it a loan House, can only burn that loan House where it begins: But if it begins in a close built Town, or City, and gets a Head, there its Fury encreases, it rages over the whole Place, and consumes all it can reach.

I could propose many Schemes, on the foot of which, the Government of this City, if ever they should be under the Apprehensions of such another Enemy, (God forbid they should) might ease themselves of the greatest Part of the dangerous People that belong to them; I mean such as the begging, starving, labouring Poor, and among them chiefly those who in Case of a Siege, are call'd the useless Mouths; who being then prudently, and to their own Advantage dispos'd of, and the wealthy Inhabitants disposing of themselves, and of their Servants, and Children, the City, and its adjacent Parts would be so effectually evacuated, that there would

would not be above a tenth Part of its People left together, for the Diſeaſe to take hold upon: But ſuppoſe them to be a fifth Part, and that two Hundred and fifty Thouſand People were left, and if it did ſeize upon them, they would by their living ſo much at large, be much better prepar'd to defend themſelves againſt the Infection, and be leſs liable to the Effects of it, than if the ſame Number of People lived cloſe together in one ſmaller City, ſuch as *Dublin*, or *Amſterdam*, or the like.

It is true, Hundreds, yea Thouſands of Families fled away at this laſt Plague, but then of them, many fled too late, and not only died in their Flight, but carried the Diſtemper with them into the Countries where they went, and infected thoſe whom they went among for Safety; which confounded the Thing, and made that be a Propagation of the Diſtemper, which was the beſt means to prevent it; and this too is an Evidence of it, and brings me back to what I only hinted at before, but muſt ſpeak more fully to here; namely, that Men went about apparently well, many Days after they had the taint of the Diſeaſe in their Vitals, and after their Spirits were ſo ſeiz'd, as that they could never eſcape it; and that all the while they did ſo, they were dangerous to others. *I ſay*, this proves, *that ſo it was*; for ſuch People infected the very Towns they went thro', as well as the Families they went among, and it was by that means, that almoſt all the great Towns in *England* had the Diſtemper among them, more or leſs; and always they would tell you ſuch a *Londoner* or ſuch a *Londoner* brought it down.

It muſt not be omitted, that when I ſpeak of thoſe People who were really thus dangerous, I ſuppoſe them to be utterly ignorant of their own Condition; for if they really knew their Circumſtances to be ſuch as indeed they were, they muſt have been a kind of

willful Murtherers, if they would have gone Abroad among healthy People, and it would have verified indeed the Suggeſtion *which I mention'd above, and which I thought ſeem'd untrue*, (*viz.*) That the infected People were utterly careleſs as to giving the Infection to others, and rather forward to do it than not; and I believe it was partly from this very Thing that they raiſed that Suggeſtion, which I hope was not really true in Fact.

I confeſs no particular Caſe is ſufficient to prove a general, but I cou'd name ſeveral People within the Knowledge of ſome of their Neighbours and Families yet living, who ſhew'd the contrary to an extream. One Man, a Maſter of a Family in my Neighbourhood, having had the Diſtemper, he thought he had it given him by a poor Workman whom he employ'd, and whom he went to his Houſe to ſee, or went for ſome Work that he wanted to have finiſhed, and he had ſome Apprehenſions even while he was at the poor Workman's Door, but did not diſcover it fully, but the next Day it diſcovered it ſelf, and he was taken very ill; upon which he immediately cauſed himſelf to be carried into an out Building which he had in his Yard, and where there was a Chamber over a Work-houſe, the Man being a Brazier; here he lay, and here he died, and would be tended by none of his Neighbours, but by a Nurſe from Abroad, and would not ſuffer his Wife, or Children, or Servants, to come up into the Room leſt they ſhould be infected, but ſent them his Bleſſing and Prayers for them by the Nurſe, who ſpoke it to them at a Diſtance, and all this for fear of giving them the Diſtemper, and without which, he knew as they were kept up, they could not have it.

And here I muſt obſerve alſo, that the Plague, as I ſuppoſe all Diſtempers do, operated in a different Man-

Manner, on differing Constitutions; some were immediately overwhelm'd with it, and it came to violent Fevers, Vomitings, unsufferable Head-achs, Pains in the Back, and so up to Ravings and Raggings with those Pains: Others with Swellings and Tumours in the Neck or Groyn, or Arm-pits, which till they could be broke, put them into insufferable Agonies and Torment; while others, as I have observ'd, were silently infected, the Fever preying upon their Spirits insensibly, and they seeing little of it, till they fell into swooning, and faintings, and Death without pain.

I am not Physician enough to enter into the particular Reasons and Manner of these differing Effects of one and the same Distemper, and of its differing Operation in several Bodies; nor is it my Business here to record the Observations, which I really made, because the Doctors themselves, have done that part much more effectually than I can do, and because my opinion may in some things differ from theirs: I am only relating what I know, or have heard, or believe of the particular Cases, and what fell within the Compass of my View, and the different Nature of the Infection, as it appeared in the particular Cases which I have related; but this may be added too, that tho' the former Sort of those Cases, namely those openly visited, were the worst for themselves as to Pain, I mean those that had such Fevers, Vomitings, Head-achs, Pains and Swellings, because they died in such a dreadful Manner, yet the latter had the worst State of the Disease; for in the former they frequently recover'd, especially if the Swellings broke, but the latter was inevitable Death; no cure, no help cou'd be possible, nothing could follow but Death; and it was worse also to others, because as, above, it secretly, and unperceiv'd by others, or by themselves, communicated Death to those they convers'd with,

the penetrating Poison insinuating it self into their Blood in a Manner, which it is impossible to describe, or indeed conceive.

This infecting and being infected, without so much as its being known to either Person, is evident from two Sorts of Cases, which frequently happened at that Time; and there is hardly any Body living who was in *London* during the Infection, but must have known several of the Cases of both Sorts.

1. Fathers and Mothers have gone about as if they had been well, and have believ'd themselves to be so, till they have insensibly infected, and been the Destruction of their whole Families: Which they would have been far from doing, if they had the least Apprehensions of their being unsound and dangerous themselves. A Family, whose Story I have heard, was thus infected by the Father, and the Distemper began to appear upon some of them, even before he found it upon himself; but searching more narrowly, it appear'd he had been infected some Time, and as soon as he found that his Family had been poison'd by himself, he went distracted, and would have laid violent Hands upon himself, but was kept from that by those who look'd to him, and in a few Days died.

2. The other Particular is, that many People having been well to the best of their own Judgment, or by the best Observation which they could make of themselves for several Days, and only finding a Decay of Appetite, or a light Sickness upon their Stomachs; nay, some whose Appetite has been strong, and even craving, and only a light Pain in their Heads; have sent for Physicians to know what ail'd them, and have been found to their great Surprize, at the brink of Death, the Tokens upon them, or the Plague grown up to an incurable Height.

It

It was very ſad to reflect, how ſuch a Perſon *as this laſt mentioned above*, had been a walking Deſtroyer, perhaps for a Week or Fortnight before that; how he had ruin'd thoſe, that he would have hazarded his Life to ſave, and had been breathing Death upon them, even perhaps in his tender Kiſſing and Embracings of his own Children: Yet thus certainly it was, and often has been, and I cou'd give many particular Caſes where it has been ſo; if then the Blow is thus inſenſibly ſtricken; if the Arrow flies thus unſeen, and cannot be diſcovered; to what purpoſe are all the Schemes for ſhutting up or removing the ſick People? thoſe Schemes cannot take place, but upon thoſe that appear to be ſick, or to be infected; whereas there are among them, at the ſame time, Thouſands of People, who ſeem to be well, but are all that while carrying Death with them into all Companies which they come into.

This frequently puzzled our Phyſicians, and eſpecially the Apothecaries and Surgeons, who knew not how to diſcover the Sick from the Sound; they all allow'd *that it was really ſo*, that many People had the Plague in their very Blood, and preying upon their Spirits, and were in themſelves but walking putrified Carcaſſes, whoſe Breath was infectious, and their Sweat Poiſon; and yet were as well to look on as other People, and even knew it not themſelves: I ſay, they all allowed that it was really true in Fact, but they knew not how to propoſe a Diſcovery.

My Friend Doctor *Heath* was of Opinion, that it might be known by the ſmell of their Breath; but then, *as he ſaid*, who durſt Smell to that Breath for his Information? Since to know it, he muſt draw the Stench of the Plague up into his own Brain, in order to diſtinguiſh the Smell! I have heard, it was the opinion of others, that it might be diſtinguiſh'd by the Party's breathing upon a piece of Glaſs,

Glass, where the Breath condensing, there might living Creatures be seen by a Microscope of strange monstrous and frightful Shapes, such as Dragons, Snakes, Serpents, and Devils, horrible to behold: But this I very much question the Truth of, and we had no Microscopes at that Time, as I remember, to make the Experiment with.

It was the opinion also of another learned Man, that the Breath of such a Person would poison, and instantly kill a Bird; not only a small Bird, but even a Cock or Hen, and that if it did not immediately kill the latter, it would cause them to be roupy *as they call it*; particularly that if they had laid any Eggs at that Time, they would be all rotten: But those are Opinions which I never found supported by any Experiments, or heard of others that had seen it; so I leave them as I find them, only with this Remark; namely, that I think the Probabilities are very strong for them.

Some have proposed that such Persons should breath hard upon warm Water, and that they would leave an unusual Scum upon it, or upon several other things, especially such as are of a glutinous Substance and are apt to receive a Scum and support it.

But from the whole I found, that the Nature of this Contagion was such, that it was impossible to discover it at all, or to prevent its spreading from one to another by any human Skill.

Here was indeed one Difficulty, which I could never throughly get over to this time, and which there is but one way of answering that I know of, and it is this, *viz.* The first Person that died of the Plague was in *Decemb.* 20th, or thereabouts 1664, and in, or about *Long-acre*, whence the first Person had the Infection, was generally said to be, from a Parcel of Silks imported from *Holland*, and first opened in that House.

But after this we heard no more of any Person dying of the Plague, or of the Distemper being in that Place

Place, till the 9th of *February*; which was about 7 Weeks after, and then one more was buried out of the same House: Then it was hush'd, and we were perfectly easy as to the publick, for a great while; for there were no more entred in the Weekly Bill to be dead of the Plague, till the 22d of *April*, when there was 2 more buried not out of the same House, but out of the same Street; and as near as I can remember, it was out of the next House to the first: this was nine Weeks asunder, and after this we had No more till a Fortnight, and then it broke out in several Streets and spread every way. Now the Question seems to lye thus, *where lay the Seeds of the Infection all this while? How came it to stop so long, and not stop any longer?* Either the Distemper did not come immediately by Contagion from Body to Body, or if it did, then a Body may be capable to continue infected, without the Disease discovering itself, many Days, nay Weeks together, even not a Quarentine of Days only, but Soixantine, not only 40 Days but 60 Days or longer.

It's true, there was, as I observed at first, and is well known to many yet living, a very cold Winter, and a long Frost, which continued three Months, and this, the Doctors say, might check the Infection; but then the learned must allow me to say, that if according to their Notion, the Disease was, as I may say, only frozen up, it would like a frozen River, have returned to its usual Force and Current when it thaw'd, whereas the principal Recess of this Infection, which was from *February* to *April*, was after the Frost was broken, and the Weather mild and warm.

But there is another way of solving all this Difficulty, which I think my own Remembrance of the thing will supply; and that is, the Fact is not granted, namely, that there died none in those long Intervals, *viz.* from the 20th of *December* to the 9th of *February*, and from thence to the 22d of *April*.

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The Weekly Bills are the only Evidence on the other side, and those Bills were not of Credit enough, at least with me, to support an *Hypothesis*, or determine a Question of such Importance as this: For it was our receiv'd Opinion at that time, and I believe upon very good Grounds, that the Fraud lay in the Parish Officers, Searchers, and Persons appointed to give Account of the Dead, and what Diseases they died of: And as People were very loth at first to have the Neighbours believe their Houses were infected, so they gave Money to procure, or otherwise procur'd the dead Persons to be return'd as dying of other Distempers; and this I know was practis'd afterwards in many Places, I believe I might say in all Places, where the Distemper came, as will be seen by the vast Encrease of the Numbers plac'd in the Weekly Bills under other Articles of Diseases, during the time of the Infection: *For Example*, in the Month of *July* and *August*, when the Plague was coming on to its highest Pitch; it was very ordinary to have from a thousand to twelve hundred, nay to almost fifteen Hundred a Week of other Distempers; not that the Numbers of those Distempers were really encreased to such a Degree: But the great Number of Families and Houses where really the Infection was, obtain'd the Favour to have their dead be return'd of other Distempers to prevent the shutting up their Houses. *For Example*,

Dead of other Diseases besides the *Plague*.

From the 18th	to the 25th *July* ——	942
	to the 1st *August* ——	1004
	to the 8th ———	1213
	to the 15th ———	1439
	to the 22d ———	1331
	to the 29th ———	1394

to

to the 5th *September* — 1264
to the 12th ——— 1056
to the 19th ——— 1132
to the 26th ——— 927

Now it was not doubted, but the greateſt part of theſe, or a great part of them, were dead of the Plague, but the Officers were prevail'd with to return them as above, and the Numbers of ſome particular Articles of Diſtempers diſcover'd is, as follows;

From the 1ſt to the 8th of *Aug.*	to the 15th.	to the 22.	to the 29.
Fever 314	353	348	383
Spotted Fever 174	190	166	165
Surfeit 85	87	74	99
Teeth 90	113	111	133
663	743	699	780

From *Auguſt* 29th to the 5th *Sept.*	to the 12.	to the 19.	to the 26.
Fever 364	332	309	268
Spotted Fever 157	97	101	65
Surfeit 68	45	49	36
Teeth 138	128	121	112
728	602	580	481

There were ſeveral other Articles which bare a Proportion to theſe, and which it is eaſy to perceive, were increaſed on the ſame Account, as *Aged*, *Conſumptions*, *Vomitings*, *Impoſthumes*, *Gripes*, and the like, many of which were not doubted to be infected People; but as it was of the utmoſt Conſequence to Families not to be known to be infected, if it was poſſible to avoid it, ſo they took all the meaſures they could to have it not believ'd; and if any died in their Houſes to get them return'd to the Examiners

ners, and by the Searchers, as having died of other Distempers.

This, I say, will account for the long Interval, which, *as I have said*, was between the dying of the first Persons that were returend in the Bill to be dead of the Plague, and the time when the Distemper spread openly, and could not be conceal'd.

Besides, the Weekly Bills themselves at that time evidently discover this Truth; for while there was no Mention of the Plague, and no Increase, after it had been mentioned, yet it was apparent, that there was an Encrease of those Distempers which bordered neareſt upon it, for Example there were Eight, Twelve, Seventeen of the Spotted Fever in a Week, when there were none, or but very few of the Plague; whereas before *One*, *Three*, or *Four*, were the ordinary Weekly Numbers of that Distemper; likewise, as I observed before, the Burials increased Weekly in that particular Parish, and the Parishes adjacent, more than in any other Parish, altho' there were none set down of the Plague; all which tells us, that the Infection was handed on, and the Succession of the Distemper really preserv'd, tho' it seem'd to us at that time to be ceased, and to come again in a manner surprising.

It might be also, that the Infection might remain in other parts of the same Parcel of Goods which at first it came in, and which might not be perhaps opened, or at least not fully, or in the Cloths of the first infected Person; for I cannot think, that any Body could be seiz'd with the Contagion in a fatal and mortal Degree for nine Weeks together, and support his State of Health so well, as even not to discover it to themselves; yet if it were so, the Argument is the stronger in Favour of what I am saying; namely, that the Infection is retain'd in Bodies apparently well, and convey'd from them to those they con-

converse with, while it is known to neither the one nor the other.

Great were the Confusions at that time upon this very Account; and when People began to be convinc'd that the Infection was receiv'd in this surprising manner from Persons apparently well, they began to be exceeding shie and jealous of every one that came near them. Once in a publick Day, whether a Sabbath Day or not I do not remember, in *Aldgate* Church in a Pew full of People, on a sudden, one fancy'd she smelt an ill Smell, immediately she fancies the Plague was in the Pew, whispers her Notion or Suspicion to the next, then rises and goes out of the Pew, it immediately took with the next, and so to them all; and every one of them, and of the two or three adjoining Pews, got up and went out of the Church, no Body knowing what it was offended them or from whom.

This immediately filled every Bodies Mouths with one Preparation or other, such as the old Women directed, and some perhaps as Physicians directed, in order to prevent Infection by the Breath of others; insomuch that if we came to go into a Church, when it was any thing full of People, there would be such a Mixture of Smells at the Entrance, that it was much more strong, tho' perhaps not so wholesome, than if you were going into an Apothecary's or Druggist's Shop; in a Word, the whole Church was like a smelling Bottle, in one Corner it was all Perfumes, in another Aromaticks, Balsamicks, and Variety of Drugs, and Herbs; in another Salts and Spirits, as every one was furnish'd for their own Preservation; yet I observ'd, that after People were possess'd, *as I have said*, with the Belief or rather Assurance, of the Infection being thus carryed on by Persons apparently in Health, the Churches and Meeting-Houses were much thinner of People than

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at other times before that they us'd to be; for this is to be said of the People of *London*, that during the whole time of the Pestilence, the Churches or Meetings were never wholly shut up, nor did the People decline coming out to the public Worship of God, except only in some Parishes when the Violence of the Distemper was more particularly in that Parish at that time; and even then no longer, than it continued to be so.

Indeed nothing was more strange, than to see with what Courage the People went to the public Service of God, even at that time when they were afraid to stir out of their own Houses upon any other Occasion; this I mean before the time of Desperation, which I have mention'd already; this was a Proof of the exceeding Populousness of the City at the time of the Infection, notwithstanding the great Numbers that were gone into the Country at the first Alarm, and that fled out into the Forests and Woods when they were farther terrifyed with the extraordinary Increase of it. For when we came to see the Crouds and Throngs of People, which appear'd on the Sabbath Days at the Churches, and especially in those parts of the Town where the Plague was abated, or where it was not yet come to its Height, it was amazing. But of this I shall speak again presently; I return in the mean time to the Article of infecting one another at first; before People came to right Notions of the Infection, and of infecting one another, People were only shye of those that were really sick, a Man with a Cap upon his Head, or with Cloths round his Neck, *which was the Case of those that had Swellings there*; such was indeed frightful: But when we saw a Gentleman dress'd, with his Band on and his Gloves in his Hand, his Hat upon his Head, and his Hair comb'd, of such we had not the least Apprehensions; and

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People converſe a great while freely, *eſpecially with their Neighbours and ſuch as they knew.* But when the Phyſicians aſſured us, that the Danger was as well from the Sound, that is *the ſeemingly ſound*, as the Sick; and that thoſe People, who thought themſelves entirely free, were oftentimes the moſt fatal; and that it came to be generally underſtood, that People were ſenſible of it, and of the reaſon of it: Then I ſay they began to be jealous of every Body, and a vaſt Number of People lock'd themſelves up, ſo as not to come abroad into any Company at all, nor ſuffer any, that had been abroad in promiſcuous Company, to come into their Houſes, or near them; at leaſt not ſo near them, as to be within the Reach of their Breath, or of any Smell from them; and when they were oblig'd to converſe at a Diſtance with Strangers, they would always have Preſervatives in their Mouths, and about their Cloths to repell and keep off the Infection.

It muſt be acknowledg'd, that when People began to uſe theſe Cautions, they were leſs expoſed to Danger, and the Infection did not break into ſuch Houſes ſo furiouſly as it did into others before, and thouſands of Families were preſerved, *ſpeaking with due Reſerve to the Direction of Divine Providence*, by that Means.

But it was impoſſible to beat any thing into the Heads of the Poor, they went on with the uſual Impetuoſity of their Tempers full of Outcries and Lamentations when taken, but madly careleſs of themſelves, Fool-hardy and obſtinate, while they were well: Where they could get Employment they puſh'd into any kind of Buſineſs, the moſt dangerous and the moſt liable to Infection; and if they were ſpoken to, their Anſwer would be, *I muſt truſt to God for that; if I am taken, then I am provided for, and there is an End of me*, and the like: Or Thus, *Why, What muſt I do? I can't ſtarve, I had as*

good have the Plague as periſh for want. I have no Work, what could I do? I muſt do this or beg: Suppoſe it was burying the dead, or attending the Sick, or watching infected Houſes, which were all terrible Hazards, but their Tale was generally the ſame. It is true Neceſſity was a very juſtifiable warrantable Plea, and nothing could be better; but their way of Talk was much the ſame, where the Neceſſities were not the ſame: This adventurous Conduct of the Poor was that which brought the Plague among them in a moſt furious manner, and this join'd to the Diſtreſs of their Circumſtances, when taken, was the reaſon why they died ſo by Heaps; for I cannot ſay, I could obſerve one jot of better Huſbandry among them, I mean the labouring Poor, while they were well and getting Money, than there was before, but as laviſh, as extravagant, and as thoughtleſs for to Morrow as ever; ſo that when they came to be taken ſick, they were immediately in the utmoſt Diſtreſs as well for want, as for Sickneſs, as well for lack of Food, as lack of Health.

This Miſery of the Poor I had many Occaſions to be an Eye-witneſs of, and ſometimes alſo of the charitable Aſſiſtance that ſome pious People daily gave to ſuch, ſending them Relief and Supplies both of Food, Phyſick and other Help, as they found they wanted; and indeed it is a Debt of Juſtice due to the Temper of the People of that Day to take Notice here, that not only great Sums, *very great* Sums of Money were charitably ſent to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen for the Aſſiſtance and Support of the poor diſtemper'd People; but abundance of private People daily diſtributed large Sums of Money for their Relief, and ſent People about to enquire into the Condition of particular diſtreſſed and viſited Families, and relieved them; nay ſome pious Ladies were ſo tranſported with Zeal in ſo good a Work,

Work, and so confident in the Protection of Providence in Discharge of the great Duty of Charity, that they went about in person distributing Alms to the Poor, and even visiting poor Families, tho' sick and infected in their very Houses, appointing Nurses to attend those that wanted attending, and ordering Apothecaries and Surgeons, the first to supply them with Drugs or Plaisters, and such things as they wanted; and the last to lance and dress the Swellings and Tumours, where such were wanting; giving their Blessing to the Poor in substantial Relief to them, as well as hearty Prayers for them.

I will not undertake to say, as some do, that none of these charitable People were suffered to fall under the Calamity itself; but this I may say, that I never knew any one of them that miscarried, which I mention for the Encouragement of others in case of the like Distress; and doubtless, *if they that give to the Poor, lend to the Lord, and he will repay them*; those that hazard their Lives to give to the Poor, and to comfort and assist the Poor in such a Misery as this, may hope to be protected in the Work.

Nor was this Charity so extraordinary eminent only in a few; but, *(for I cannot lightly quit this Point)* the Charity of the rich as well in the City and Suburbs as from the Country, was so great, that in a Word, a prodigious Number of People, who must otherwise inevitably have perished for want as well as Sickness, were supported and subsisted by it; and tho' I could never, nor I believe any one else come to a full Knowledge of what was so contributed, yet I do believe, that as I heard one say, that was a critical Observer of that Part, there was not only many Thousand Pounds contributed, but many hundred thousand Pounds, to the Relief of the Poor of this distressed afflicted City; nay one Man affirm'd to me that he could reckon up above one hundred thou-

sand Pounds a Week, which was distributed by the Church Wardens at the several Parish Vestries, by the Lord Mayor and the Aldermen in the several Wards and Precincts, and by the particular Direction of the Court and of the Justices respectively in the parts where they resided; over and above the private Charity distributed by pious Hands in the manner I speak of, and this continued for many Weeks together.

I confess this is a very great Sum; but if it be true, that there was distributed in the Parish of *Cripplegate* only 17800 Pounds in one Week to the Relief of the Poor, as I heard reported, and which I really believe was true, the other may not be improbable.

It was doubtless to be reckon'd among the many signal good Providences which attended this great City, *and of which there were many other worth recording*; I say, this was a very remarkable one, that it pleased God thus to move the Hearts of the People in all parts of the Kingdom, so chearfully to contribute to the Relief and Support of the poor at *London*; the good Consequences of which were felt many ways, and particularly in preserving the Lives and recovering the Health of so many thousands, and keeping so many Thousands of Families from perishing and starving.

And now I am talking of the merciful Disposition of Providence in this time of Calamity, I cannot but mention again, tho' I have spoken several times of it already on other Account, I mean that of the Progression of the Distemper; how it began at one end of the Town, and proceeded gradually and slowly from one Part to another, and like a dark Cloud that passes over our Heads, which as it thickens and overcasts the Air at one End, clears up at the other end: So while the Plague went on raging from West to East, as it went forwards East, it abated

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in the West, by which means those parts of the Town, which were not seiz'd, or who were left, and where it had spent its Fury, were (as it were) spar'd to help and assist the other; whereas had the Distemper spread it self over the whole City and Suburbs at once, raging in all Places alike, as it has done since in some Places abroad, the whole Body of the People must have been overwhelmed, and there would have died twenty thousand a Day, as they say there did at *Naples*, nor would the People have been able to have help'd or assisted one another.

For it must be observ'd that where the Plague was in its full Force, there indeed the People were very miserable, and the Consternation was inexpressible. But a little before it reach'd even to that place, or presently after it was gone, they were quite another Sort of People, and I cannot but acknowledge, that there was too much of that common Temper of Mankind to be found among us all at that time; namely to forget the Deliverance, when the Danger is past: But I shall come to speak of that part again.

It must not be forgot here to take some Notice of the State of Trade, during the time of this common Calamity, and this with respect to Foreign Trade, as also to our Home-trade.

As to Foreign Trade, there needs little to be said; the trading Nations of Europe were all afraid of us, no Port of *France*, or *Holland*, or *Spain*, or *Italy* would admit our Ships or correspond with us; indeed we stood on ill Terms with the *Dutch*, and were in a furious War with them, but tho' in a bad Condition to fight abroad, who had such dreadful Enemies to struggle with at Home.

Our Merchants accordingly were at a full Stop, their Ships could go no where, that is to say to no place abroad; their Manufactures and Merchandise,

that is to say, of our Growth, would not be touch'd abroad; they were as much afraid of our Goods, as they were of our People; and indeed they had reason, for our woolen Manufactures are as retentive of Infection as human Bodies, and if pack'd up by Persons infected would receive the Infection, and be as dangerous to touch, as a Man would be that was infected; and therefore when any *English* Vessel arriv'd in Foreign Countries, if they did take the Goods on Shore, they always caused the Bales to be opened and air'd in Places appointed for that Purpose: But from *London* they would not suffer them to come into Port, much less to unlade their Goods upon any Terms whatever; and this Strictness was especially us'd with them in *Spain* and *Italy*, in *Turkey* and the Islands of the *Arches* indeed as they are call'd, as well those belonging to the *Turks* as to the *Venetians*, they were not so very rigid; in the first there was no Obstruction at all; and four Ships, which were then in the River loading for *Italy*, that is for *Leghorn* and *Naples*, being denyed Product, *as they call it*, went on to *Turkey*, and were freely admitted to unlade their Cargo without any Difficulty, only that when they arriv'd there, some of their Cargo was not fit for Sale in that Country, and other Parts of it being consign'd to Merchants at *Leghorn*, the Captains of the Ships had no Right nor any Orders to dispose of the Goods; so that great Inconveniences followed to the Merchants. But this was nothing but what the Necessity of Affairs requir'd, and the Merchants at *Leghorn* and at *Naples* having Notice given them, sent again from thence to take Care of the Effects, which were particularly consign'd to those Ports, and to bring back in other Ships such as were improper for the Markets at *Smyrna* and *Scanderoon*.

The Inconveniences in *Spain* and *Portugal* were still greater; for they would, by no means, suffer

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our Ships, especially those from *London*, to come into any of their Ports, much less to unlade; there was a Report, that one of our Ships having by Stealth delivered her Cargo, among which was some Bales of *English* Cloth, Cotton, Kersyes, and such like Goods, the *Spaniards* caused all the Goods to be burnt, and punished the Men with Death who were concern'd in carrying them on Shore. This I believe was in Part true, tho' I do not affirm it: But it is not at all unlikely, seeing the Danger was really very great, the Infection being so violent in *London*.

I heard likewise that the Plague was carryed into those Countries by some of our Ships, and particularly to the Port of *Faro* in the Kingdom of *Algarve*, belonging to the King of *Portugal*; and that several Persons died of it there, but it was not confirm'd.

On the other Hand, tho' the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* were so shie of us, it is most certain, that the Plague, *as has been said*, keeping at first much at that end of the Town next *Westminster*, the merchandising part of the Town, such as the City and the Water-side, was perfectly sound, till at least the Beginning of *July*; and the Ships in the River till the Beginning of *August*; for to the 1st of *July*, there had died but seven within the whole City, and but 60 within the Liberties; but one in all the Parishes of *Stepney*, *Aldgate*, and *White-Chappel*; and but two in all the eight Parishes of *Southwark*. But it was the same thing abroad, for the bad News was gone over the whole World, that the City of *London* was infected with the Plague; and there was no inquiring there, how the Infection proceeded, or at which part of the Town it was begun, or was reach'd to.

Besides, after it began to spread, it increased so fast, and the Bills grew so high, all on a sudden,

that it was to no purpose to lessen the Report of it, or endeavour to make the People abroad think it better than it was, the Account which the Weekly Bills gave in was sufficient; and that there died two thousand to three or four thousand a Week, was sufficient to alarm the whole trading part of the World, and the following time being so dreadful also in the very City it self, put the whole World, *I say*, upon their Guard against it.

You may be sure also, that the Report of these things lost nothing in the Carriage, the Plague was it self very terrible, and the Distress of the People very great, as you may observe by what I have said: But the Rumor was infinitely greater, and it must not be wonder'd, that our Friends abroad, as my Brother's Correspondents in particular were told there, namely in *Portugal* and *Italy* where he chiefly traded, that in *London* there died twenty thousand in a Week; that the dead Bodies lay unburied by Heaps; that the living were not sufficient to bury the dead, or the Sound to look after the Sick; that all the Kingdom was infected likewise, so that it was an universal Malady, such as was never heard of in those parts of the World; and they could hardly believe us, when we gave them an Account how things really were, and how there was not above one Tenth part of the People dead; that there was 500000 left that lived all the time in the Town; that now the People began to walk the Streets again, and those, who were fled, to return, there was no Miss of the usual Throng of people in the Streets, except as every Family might miss their Relations and Neighbours, and the like; I say they could not believe these things; and if Enquiry were now to be made in *Naples*, or in other Cities on the Coast of *Italy*, they would tell you that there was a dreadful Infection in *London* so many Years ago;

in

in which, *as above*, there died Twenty Thousand in a Week, *&c.* Just as we have had it reported in *London*, that there was a Plague in the City of *Naples*, in the Year 1656, in which there died 20000 People in a Day, of which I have had very good Satisfaction, that it was utterly false.

But these extravagant Reports were very prejudicial to our Trade as well as unjust and injurious in themselves; for it was a long Time after the Plague was quite over, before our Trade could recover it self in those parts of the World; and the *Flemings* and *Dutch*, but especially the last, made very great Advantages of it, having all the Market to themselves, and even buying our Manufactures in the several Parts of *England* where the Plague was not, and carrying them to *Holland*, and *Flanders*, and from thence transporting them to *Spain*, and to *Italy*, as if they had been of their own making.

But they were detected sometimes and punish'd, that is to say, their Goods confiscated, and Ships also; for if it was true, that our Manufactures, as well as our People, were infected, and that it was dangerous to touch or to open, and receive the Smell of them; then those People ran the hazard by that clandestine Trade, not only of carrying the Contagion into their own Country, but also of infecting the Nations to whom they traded with those Goods; which, considering how many Lives might be lost in Consequence of such an Action, must be a Trade that no Men of Conscience could suffer themselves to be concern'd in.

I do not take upon me to say, that any harm was done, I mean of that Kind, by those People: But I doubt, I need not make any such Proviso in the Case of our own Country; for either by our People of *London*, or by the Commerce, which made their conversing with all Sorts of People in every County,

County, and of every considerable Town, necessary, I say, by this means the Plague was first or last spread all over the Kingdom, as well in *London* as in all the Cities and great Towns, especially in the trading Manufacturing Towns, and Sea-Ports; so that first or last, all the considerable Places in *England* were visited more or less, and the Kingdom of *Ireland* in some Places, but not so universally; how it far'd with the People in *Scotland*, I had no opportunity to enquire.

It is to be observ'd, that while the Plague continued so violent in *London*, the *out Ports*, as they are call'd, enjoy'd a very great Trade, especially to the adjacent Countries, and to our own Plantations; for Example, the Towns of *Colchester*, *Yarmouth*, and *Hull*, on that side of *England*, exported to *Holland* and *Hamburgh*, the Manufactures of the adjacent Counties for several Months after the Trade with *London* was as it were entirely shut up; likewise the Cities of *Bristol* and *Exeter* with the Port of *Plymouth*, had the like Advantage to *Spain*, to the *Canaries*, to *Guinea*, and to the *West Indies*; and particularly to *Ireland*; but as the Plague spread it self every way after it had been in *London*, to such a Degree as it was in *August* and *September*; so all, or most of those Cities and Towns were infected first or last, and then Trade was as it were under a general Embargo, or at a full stop, as I shall observe farther, when I speak of our home Trade.

One thing however must be observed, that as to Ships coming in from Abroad, as many you may be sure did, some, who were out in all Parts of the World a considerable while before, and some who when they went out knew nothing of an Infection, or at least of one so terrible; these came up the River boldly, and delivered their Cargoes as they were oblig'd to do, except just in the two Months of *August* and *September*,

tember, when the Weight of the Infection lying, as I may say, all below Bridge, no Body durst appear in Business for a while: But as this continued but for a few Weeks, the Homeward bound Ships, especially such whose Cargoes were not liable to spoil, came to an Anchor for a Time, short of THE POOL *, or fresh Water part of the River, even as low as the River *Medway*, where several of them ran in, and others lay at the *Nore*, and in the *Hope* below *Gravesend*: So that by the latter end of *October*, there was a very great Fleet of Homeward bound Ships to come up, such as the like had not been known for many Years.

Two particular Trades were carried on by Water Carriage all the while of the Infection, and that with little or no Interruption, very much to the Advantage and Comfort of the poor distressed People of the City, and those were the coasting Trade for Corn, and the *Newcastle* Trade for Coals.

The first of these was particularly carried on by small Vessels, from the Port of *Hull*, and other Places in the *Humber*, by which great Quantities of Corn were brought in from *Yorkshire* and *Lincolnshire*: The other part of this Corn-Trade was from *Lynn* in *Norfolk*, from *Wells*, and *Burnham*, and from *Yarmouth*, all in the same County; and the third Branch was from the River *Medway*, and from *Milton*, *Feversham*, *Margate*, and *Sandwich*, and all the other little Places and Ports round the Coast of *Kent* and *Essex*.

There was also a very good Trade from the Coast of *Suffolk* with Corn, Butter and Cheese; these Vessels kept a constant Course of Trade, and without Interruption came up to that Market known

* That Part of the River where the Ships lye up when they come Home, is call'd the *Pool*, and takes in all the River on both Sides of the Water, from the *Tower* to *Cuckold's* Point, and *Limehouse*.

still

ſtill by the Name of *Bear-Key*, where they ſupply'd the City plentifully with Corn, when Land Carriage began to fail, and when the People began to be ſick of coming from many Places in the Country.

This alſo was much of it owing to the Prudence and Conduct of the Lord Mayor, who took ſuch care to keep the Maſters and Seamen from Danger, when they came up, cauſing their Corn to be bought off at any time they wanted a Market, (which however was very ſeldom) and cauſing the Corn-Factors immediately to unlade and deliver the Veſſels loaden with Corn, that they had very little occaſion to come out of their Ships or Veſſels, the Money being always carried on Board to them, and put into a Pail of Vinegar before it was carried.

The ſecond Trade was, that of Coals from *Newcaſtle* upon *Tyne*; without which the City would have been greatly diſtreſſed; for not in the Streets only, but in private Houſes and Families, great Quantities of Coals were then burnt, even all the Summer long, and when the Weather was hotteſt, which was done by the Advice of the Phyſicians; ſome indeed oppos'd it, and inſiſted that to keep the Houſes and Rooms hot, was a means to propagate the Diſtemper, which was a Fermentation and Heat already in the Blood, that it was known to ſpread, and increaſe in hot Weather, and abate in cold, and therefore they alledg'd that all contagious Diſtempers are the worſe for Heat, becauſe the Contagion was nouriſhed, and gain'd Strength in hot Weather, and was as it were propagated in Heat.

Others ſaid, they granted, that Heat in the Climate might propagate Infection, as ſultry hot Weather fills the Air with Vermine, and nouriſhes innumerable Numbers, and Kinds of venomous Creatures, which breed in our Food, in the Plants, and even in our Bodies, by the very ſtench of which, Infection may

may be propagated; also, that heat in the Air, or heat of Weather, *as we ordinarly call it*, makes Bodies relax and faint, exhausts the Spirits, opens the Pores, and makes us more apt to receive Infection, or any evil Influence, be it from noxious pestilential Vapors, or any other Thing in the Air: But that the heat of Fire, and especially of Coal Fires kept in our Houses, or near us, had a quite different Operation, the Heat being not of the same Kind, but quick and fierce, tending not to nourish but to consume, and dissipate all those noxious Fumes, which the other kind of Heat rather exhaled, and stagnated, than separated, and burnt up; besides it was alledg'd, that the sulphurous and nitrous Particles, that are often found to be in the Coal, with that bituminous Substance which burns, are all assisting to clear and purge the Air, and render it wholsom and safe to breath in, after the noctious Particles as above are dispers'd and burnt up.

The latter Opinion prevail'd at that Time, and as I must confess I think with good Reason, and the Experience of the Citizens confirm'd it, many Houses which had constant Fires kept in the Rooms, having never been infected at all; and I must join my Experience to it, for I found the keeping good Fires kept our Rooms sweet and wholsom, and I do verily believe made our whole Family so, more than would otherwise have been.

But I return to the Coals as a Trade, it was with no little difficulty that this Trade was kept open, and particularly because as we were in an open War with the *Dutch*, at that Time, the *Dutch* Capers at first took a great many of our Collier Ships, which made the rest cautious, and made them to stay to come in Fleets together: But after some time, the Capers were either afraid to take them, or their Masters, the States, were afraid they should, and forbad them, lest the Plague should be among

among them, which made them fare the better.

For the Security of those *Northern* Traders, the Coal Ships were order'd by my Lord Mayor, not to come up into the *Pool* above a certain Number at a Time, and order'd Lighters, and other Vessels, such as the Wood-mongers, that is the *Wharf* Keepers, or Coal-Sellers furnished, to go down, and take out the Coals as low as *Deptford* and *Greenwich*, and some farther down.

Others deliver'd great Quantities of Coals in particular Places, where the Ships cou'd come to the Shoar, as at *Greenwich*, *Blackwal*, and other Places, in vast Heaps, as if to be kept for Sale; but were then fetch'd away, after the Ships which brought them were gone; so that the Seamen had no Communication with the River-Men, nor so much as came near one another.

Yet all this Caution, could not effectually prevent the Distemper getting among the Colliery, that is to say, among the Ships, by which a great many Seamen died of it; and that which was still worse, was, that they carried it down to *Ipswich*, and *Yarmouth*, to *Newcastle* upon *Tyne*, and other Places on the Coast; where, especially at *Newcastle* and at *Sunderland*, it carried off a great Number of People.

The making so many Fires as above, did indeed consume an unusual Quantity of Coals; and that upon one or two stops of the Ships coming up, whether by contrary Weather, or by the Interruption of Enemies, I do not remember, but the Price of Coals was exceeding dear, even as high as 4 l. a Chalder, but it soon abated when the Ships came in, and as afterwards they had a freer Passage, the Price was very reasonable all the rest of that Year.

The publick Fires which were made on these Occasions, as I have calculated it, must necessarily have

have coſt the City about 200 Chalder of Coals a Week, if they had continued, which was indeed a very great Quantity; but as it was, thought neceſſary, nothing was ſpar'd; however as ſome of the Phyſicians cry'd them down, they were not kept a-light above four or five Days; the Fires were order'd thus.

One at the *Cuſtom-houſe*, one at *Billingſgate*, one at *Queen-hith*, and one at the *Three Cranes*, one in *Black Friers*, and one at the Gate of *Bridewel*, one at the Corner of *Leadenhal* Street, and *Grace-church*, one at the *North*, and one at the *South* Gate of the *Royal Exchange*, one at *Guild Hall*, and one at *Blackwell-hall* Gate, one at the Lord *Mayor*'s Door, in St. *Helens*, one at the Weſt Entrance into St. *Paul*'s, and one at the Entrance into *Bow* Church: I do not remember whether there was any at the City Gates, but one at the *Bridge* foot there was, juſt by St. *Magnus* Church.

I know, ſome have quarrell'd ſince that at the Experiment, and ſaid, that there died the more People, becauſe of thoſe Fires; but I am perſuaded thoſe that ſay ſo, offer no Evidence to prove it, neither can I believe it on any Account whatever.

It remains to give ſome Account of the State of Trade at home in *England* during this dreadful Time, and particularly as it relates to the Manufactures, and the Trade in the City: At the firſt breaking out of the Infection, there was, as it is eaſie to ſuppoſe, a very great fright among the People, and conſequently a general ſtop of Trade; except in Proviſions and Neceſſaries of Life, and even in thoſe Things, as there was a vaſt Number of People fled, and a very great Number always ſick, beſides the Number which died, ſo there could not be above two Thirds, if above one Half of the Conſumption of Proviſions in the City as uſed to be.

It

It pleas'd God, to send a very plentiful Year of Corn and Fruit, but not of Hay or Grass; by which means, Bread was cheap, by Reason of the Plenty of Corn: Flesh was cheap, by Reason of the Scarcity of Grass; but Butter and Cheese were dear for the same Reason, and Hay in the Market just beyond *White-Chapel* Bars, was sold at 4 l. *per* Load. But that affected not the Poor; there was a most excessive Plenty of all Sorts of Fruit, such as Apples, Pears, Plumbs, Cherries, Grapes; and they were the cheaper, because of the want of People; but this made the Poor eat them to excess, and this brought them into Fluxes, griping of the Guts, Surfeits, and the like, which often precipitated them into the Plague.

But to come to Matters of Trade; first, Foreign Exportation being stopt, or at least very much interrupted, and rendred difficult; a general Stop of all those Manufactories followed of Course, which were usually bought for Exportation; and tho' sometimes Merchants Abroad were importunate for Goods, yet little was sent, the Passages being so generally stop'd, that the *English* Ships would not be admitted, as is said already, into their Port.

This put a stop to the Manufactures, that were for Exportation in most Parts of *England*, except in some out Ports; and even that was soon stop'd, for they all had the Plague in their Turn: But tho' this was felt all over *England*, yet what was still worse, all Intercourse of Trade for Home Consumption of Manufactures, especially those which usually circulated thro' the *Londoners* Hands, was stop'd at once, the Trade of the City being stop'd.

All Kinds of Handicrafts in the City, *&c.* Tradesmen and Mechanicks, were, as I have said before, out of Employ, and this occasion'd the putting off, and dismissing an innumerable Number of Journey-men, and Work-men of all Sorts, seeing nothing

thing was done relating to such Trades, but what might be said to be absolutely necessary.

This caused the Multitude of single People in *London* to be unprovided for; as also of Families, whose living depended upon the Labour of the Heads of those Families; I say, this reduced them to extream Misery; and I must confess it is for the Honour of the City of *London*, and will be for many Ages, as long as this is to be spoken of, that they were able to supply with charitable Provision, the Wants of so many Thousands of those as afterwards fell sick, and were distressed; so that it may be safely aver'd that no Body perished for Want, at least that the Magistrates had any notice given them of.

This Stagnation of our Manufacturing Trade in the Country, would have put the People there to much greater Difficulties, but that the Master-Workmen, Clothiers and others, to the uttermost of their Stocks and Strength, kept on making their Goods to keep the Poor at Work, believing that as soon as the Sickness should abate, they would have a quick Demand in Proportion to the Decay of their Trade at that Time: But as none but those Masters that were rich could do thus, and that many were poor and not able, the Manufacturing Trade in *England* suffer'd greatly, and the Poor were pinch'd all over *England* by the Calamity of the City of *London* only.

It is true, that the next Year made them full amends by another terrible Calamity upon the City; so that the City by one Calamity impoverished and weaken'd the Country, and by another Calamity even terrible too of its Kind, enrich'd the Country and made them again amends: For an infinite Quantity of Houshold Stuff, wearing Apparel, and other Things, besides whole Ware-houses fill'd with Merchandize and Manufacturies, such as come from

all Parts of *England*, were consum'd in the Fire of *London*, the next Year after this terrible Visitation: It is incredible what a Trade this made all over the whole Kingdom, to make good the Want, and to supply that Loss: So that, in short, all the manufacturing Hands in the Nation were set on Work, and were little enough, for several Years, to supply the Market and answer the Demands; all Foreign Markets, also were empty of our Goods, by the stop which had been occasioned by the Plague, and before an open Trade was allow'd again; and the prodigious Demand at Home falling in join'd to make a quick Vent for all Sorts of Goods; so that there never was known such a Trade all over *England* for the Time, as was in the first seven Years after the Plague, and after the Fire of *London*.

It remains now, that I should say something of the merciful Part of this terrible Judgment: The last Week in *September*, the Plague being come to its Crisis, its Fury began to assuage. I remember my Friend Doctor *Heath* coming to see me the Week before, told me, he was sure that the Violence of it would assuage in a few Days; but when I saw the weekly Bill of that Week, which was the highest of the whole Year, being 8297 of all Diseases, I upbraided him with it, and ask'd him, what he had made his Judgment from? His Answer, however, was not so much to seek, as I thought it would have been; look you, *says he*, by the Number which are at this Time sick and infected, there should have been twenty Thousand dead the last Week, instead of eight Thousand, if the inveterate mortal Contagion had been, as it was two Weeks ago; for then it ordinarily kill'd in two or three Days, now not under Eight or Ten; and then not above One in Five recovered; whereas I have observ'd, that now not above Two in Five miscarry; and observe it from me, the next Bill will decrease, and you will

will see many more People recover than used to do; for tho' a vast Multitude are now every where infected, and as many every Day fall sick; yet there will not so many die as there did, for the Malignity of the Distemper is abated; adding, that he began now to hope, nay more than hope, that the Infection had pass'd its Crisis, and was going off; and accordingly so it was, for the next Week being, as I said, the last in *September*, the Bill decreased almost two Thousand.

It is true, the Plague was still at a frightful Height, and the next Bill was no less than 6460, and the next to that 5720; but still my Friend's Observation was just, and it did appear the People did recover faster, and more in Number, than they used to do; and indeed if it had not been so, what had been the Condition of the City of *London?* for according to my Friend there were not fewer than sixty Thousand People at that Time infected, whereof, as above, 20477 died, and near 40000 recovered; whereas had it been as it was before, Fifty thousand of that Number would very probably have died, if not more, and 50000 more would have sickned; for in a Word, the whole Mass of People began to sicken, and it look'd as if none would escape.

But this Remark of my Friend's appear'd more evident in a few Weeks more; for the Decrease went on, and another Week in *October* it decreas'd 1849. So that the Number dead of the Plague was but 2665, and the next Week it decreased 1413 more, and yet it was seen plainly, that there was abundance of People sick, nay abundance more than ordinary, and abundance fell sick every Day, but (as above) the Malignity of the Disease abated.

Such is the precipitant Disposition of our People, whether it is so or not all over the World, that's none of my particular Business to enquire; but I saw it apparently here, that as upon the first

Fright of the Infection, they ſhun'd one another, and fled from one another's Houſes, and from the City with an unaccountable, and, as I thought, unneceſſary Fright; ſo now upon this Notion ſpreading, (*viz.*) that the Diſtemper was not ſo catching as formerly, and that if it was catch'd, it was not ſo mortal, and ſeeing abundance of People who really fell ſick, recover again daily; they took to ſuch a precipitant Courage, and grew ſo entirely regardleſs of themſelves, and of the Infection, that they made no more of the Plague than of an ordinary Fever, nor indeed ſo much; they not only went boldly into Company, with thoſe who had Tumours and Carbuncles upon them, that were running, and conſequently contagious, but eat and drank with them, nay into their Houſes to viſit them, and even, as I was told, into their very Chambers where they lay ſick.

This I cou'd not ſee rational; my Friend Doctor *Heath* allow'd, and it was plain to Experience, that the Diſtemper was as catching as ever, and as many fell ſick, but only he alledg'd, that ſo many of thoſe that fell ſick did not die; but I think that while many did die, and that, at beſt, the Diſtemper it ſelf was very terrible, the Sores and Swellings very tormenting, and the Danger of Death not left out of the Circumſtance of Sickneſs, tho' not ſo frequent as before; all thoſe things, together with the exceeding Tedioufneſs of the Cure, the Loathſomneſs of the Diſeaſe, and many other Articles, were enough to deter any Man living from a dangerous Mixture with the ſick People, and make them as anxious almoſt to avoid the Infection as before.

Nay there was another Thing which made the meer catching of the Diſtemper frightful, and that was the terrible burning of the Cauſticks, which the Surgeons laid on the Swellings to bring them to break, and to run; without which the Danger

of Death was very great, even to the laſt; alſo the unſufferable Torment of the Swellings, which tho' it might not make People raving and diſtracted, as they were before, and as I have given ſeveral Inſtances of already, yet they put the Patient to inexpreſſible Torture; and thoſe that fell into it, tho' they did eſcape with Life, yet they made bitter Complaints of thoſe, that had told them there was no Danger, and ſadly repented their Raſhneſs and Folly in venturing to run into the reach of it.

Nor did this unwary Conduct of the People end here, for a great many that thus caſt off their Cautions ſuffered more deeply ſtill; and tho' many eſcap'd, yet many died; and at leaſt it had this publick Miſchief attending it, that it made the Decreaſe of Burials ſlower than it would otherwiſe have been; for as this Notion run like Lightning thro' the City, and People Heads were poſſeſs'd with it, even as ſoon as the firſt great Decreaſe in the Bills appear'd, we found, that the two next Bills did not decreaſe in Proportion; the Reaſon I take to be the Peoples running ſo raſhly into Danger, giving up all their former Cautions, and Care, and all the Shyneſs which they uſed to practiſe; depending that the Sickneſs would not reach them, or that if it did, they ſhould not die.

The Phyſicians oppos'd this thoughtleſs Humour of the People with all their Might, and gave out printed Directions, ſpreading them all over the City and Suburbs, adviſing the People to continue reſerv'd, and to uſe ſtill the utmoſt Caution in their ordinary Conduct, notwithſtanding the Decreaſe of the Diſtemper, terrifying them with the Danger of bringing a Relapſe upon the whole City, and telling them how ſuch a Relapſe might be more fatal and dangerous than the whole Viſitation that had been already; with many Arguments and Reaſons to explain and prove that part to them, and which are too long to repeat here.

But it was all to no Purpoſe, the audacious Creatures were ſo poſſeſs'd with the firſt Joy, and ſo ſurpriz'd with the Satisfaction of ſeeing a vaſt Decreaſe in the weekly Bills, that they were impenetrable by any new Terrors, and would not be perſuaded, but that the Bitterneſs of Death was paſs'd; and it was to no more purpoſe to talk to them, than to an Eaſt-wind; but they open'd Shops, went about Streets, did Buſineſs, and converſed with any Body that came in their Way to converſe with, whether with Buſineſs, or without, neither inquiring of their Health, or ſo much as being Apprehenſive of any Danger from them, tho' they knew them not to be ſound.

This imprudent raſh Conduct coſt a great many their Lives, who had with great Care and Caution ſhut themſelves up, and kept retir'd as it were from all Mankind, and had by that means, under God's Providence, been preſerv'd thro' all the heat of that Infection.

This raſh and fooliſh Conduct, *I ſay*, of the People went ſo far, that the Miniſters took notice to them of it at laſt, and laid before them both the Folly and Danger of it; and this check'd it a little, ſo that they grew more cautious, but it had another Effect, which they cou'd not check; for as the firſt Rumour had ſpread not over the City only, but into the Country, it had the like Effect, and the People were ſo tir'd with being ſo long from *London*, and ſo eager to come back, that they flock'd to Town without Fear or Forecaſt, and began to ſhew themſelves in the Streets, as if all the Danger was over: It was indeed ſurpriſing to ſee it, for tho' there died ſtill from a Thouſand to eighteen Hundred a Week, yet the People flock'd to Town, as if all had been well.

The Conſequence of this was, that the Bills encreas'd again Four Hundred the very firſt Week in

November,

November; and if I might believe the Phyſicians, there was above three Thouſand fell ſick that Week, moſt of them new Comers too.

One JOHN COCK, a Barber in St. *Martins le Grand*, was an eminent Example of this; I mean of the haſty Return of the People, when the Plague was abated: This *John Cock* had left the Town with his whole Family, and lock'd up his Houſe, and was gone in the Country, as many others did, and finding the Plague ſo decreas'd in *November*, that there died but 905 *per* Week of all Diſeaſes, he ventur'd home again; he had in his Family Ten Perſons, that is to ſay, himſelf and Wife, five Children, two Apprentices, and a Maid Servant; he had not been return'd to his Houſe above a Week, and began to open his Shop, and carry on his Trade, but the Diſtemper broke out in his Family, and within about five Days they all died, except one, that is to ſay, himſelf, his Wife, all his five Children, and his two Apprentices, and only the Maid remain'd alive.

But the Mercy of God was greater to the reſt than had Reaſon to expect; for the Malignity, as I have ſaid, of the Diſtemper was ſpent, the Contagion was exhauſted, and alſo the Winter Weather came on apace, and the Air was clear and cold, with ſome ſharp Froſts; and this encreaſing ſtill, moſt of thoſe that had fallen ſick recover'd, and the Health of the City began to return: There were indeed ſome Returns of the Diſtemper, even in the Month of *December*, and the Bills encreaſed near a Hundred, but it went off again and ſo in a ſhort while, Things began to return to their own Channel. And wonderful it was to ſee how populous the City was again all on a ſudden; ſo that a Stranger could not miſs the Numbers that were loſt, neither was there any miſs of the Inhabitants as to their Dwellings: Few or no empty Houſes were to be ſeen, or if there

were some, there was no want of Tenants for them.

I wish I cou'd say, that as the City had a new Face, so the Manners of the People had a new Appearance: I doubt not but there were many that retain'd a sincere Sense of their Deliverance, and that were heartily thankful to that sovereign Hand, that had protected them in so dangerous a Time; it would be very uncharitablee to judge otherwise in a City so populous, and where the People were so devout, as they were here in the Time of the Visitation it self; but except what of this was to be found in particular Families, and Faces, it must be acknowledg'd that the general Practice of the People was just as it was before, and very little Difference was to be seen.

Some indeed said Things were worse, that the Morals of the People declin'd from this vere time; that the People harden'd by the Danger they had been in, like Sea-men after a Storm is over, were more wicked and more stupid, more bold and hardened in their Vices and Immoralities than they were before; but I will not carry it so far neither: It would take up a History of no small Length, to give a Particular of all the Gradations, by which the Course of Things in this City came to be restor'd again, and to run in their own Channel as they did before.

Some Parts of *England* were now infected as violently as *London* had been; the Cities of *Norwich*, *Peterborough*, *Lincoln*, *Colchester*, and other Places were now visited; and the Magistrates of *London* began to set Rules for our Conduct, as to corresponding with those Cities: It is true, we could not pretend to forbid their People coming to *London*, because it was impossible to know them asunder, so after many Consultations, the Lord Mayor, and Court of Aldermen were oblig'd to drop it: All they cou'd do,

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was to warn and caution the People, not to entertain in their Houſes, or converſe with any People who they knew came from ſuch infected Places.

But they might as well have talk'd to the Air, for the People of *London* thought themſelves ſo Plague-free now, that they were paſt all Admonitions; they ſeem'd to depend upon it, that the Air was reſtor'd, and that the Air was like a Man that had had the Small Pox, not capable of being infected again; this reviv'd that Notion, that the Infection was all in the Air, that there was no ſuch thing as Contagion from the ſick People to the Sound; and ſo ſtrongly did this Whimſy prevail among People, that they run all together promiſcuouſly, ſick and well; not the *Mahometans*, who, prepoſſeſs'd with the Principle of Predeſtination value nothing of Contagion, let it be in what it will, could be more obſtinate than the People of *London*; they that were perfectly ſound, and came out of the wholeſome Air, as we call it, into the City, made nothing of going into the ſame Houſes and Chambers nay even into the ſame Beds, with thoſe that had the Diſtemper upon them, and were not recovered.

Some indeed paid for their audacious Boldneſs with the Price of their Lives; an infinite Number fell ſick, and the Phyſicians had more Work than ever, only with this Difference, that more of their Patients recovered; that is to ſay, they generally recovered, but certainly there were more People infected, and fell ſick now, when there did not die above a Thouſand, or Twelve Hundred in a Week, than there was when there died Five or Six Thouſand a Week; ſo entirely negligent were the People at that Time, in the great and dangerous Caſe of Health and Infection; and ſo ill were they able to take or accept of the Advice of thoſe who cautioned them for their Good.

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The People being thus return'd, as it were in general, it was very ſtrange to find, that in their inquiring after their Friends, ſome whole Families were ſo entirely ſwept away, that there was no Remembrance of them left; neither was any Body to be found to poſſeſs or ſhew any Title to that little they had left; for in ſuch Caſes, what was to be found was generally embezzled, and purloyn'd ſome gone one way, ſome another.

It was ſaid ſuch abandon'd Effects, came to the King as the univerſal Heir, upon which we were told, and I ſuppoſe it was in part true, that the King granted all ſuch as Deodands to the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen of *London*, to be applied to the uſe of the Poor, of whom there were very many: For it is to be obſerv'd, that tho' the Occaſions of Relief, and the Objects of Diſtreſs were very many more in the Time of the Violence of the Plague, than now after all was over; yet the Diſtreſs of the Poor was more now, a great deal than it was then, becauſe all the Sluces of general Charity were now ſhut; People ſuppos'd the main Occaſion to be over, and ſo ſtop'd their Hands; whereas particular Objects were ſtill very moving, and the Diſtreſs of thoſe that were Poor, was very great indeed.

Tho' the Health of the City was now very much reſtor'd, yet Foreign Trade did not begin to ſtir, neither would Foreigners admit our Ships into their Ports for a great while; as for the *Dutch*, the Miſunderſtandings between our Court and them had broken out into a War the Year before; ſo that our Trade that way was wholly interrupted; but *Spain* and *Portugal*, *Italy* and *Barbary*, as alſo *Hamburgh*, and all the Ports in the *Baltick*, theſe were all ſhy of us a great while, and would not reſtore Trade with us for many Months.

The Diſtemper ſweeping away ſuch Multitudes, as I have obſerv'd, many, if not all the out Pariſhes

were oblig'd to make new burying Grounds, beſides that I have mention'd in *Bunhil-Fields*, ſome of which were continued, and remain in Uſe to this Day; but others were left off, and which, I confeſs, I mention with ſome Reflection, being converted into other Uſes, or built upon afterwards, the dead Bodies were diſturb'd, abus'd, dug up again, ſome even before the Fleſh of them was periſhed from the Bones, and remov'd like Dung or Rubbiſh to other Places; ſome of thoſe which came within the Reach of my Obſervation, are as follow.

1. A piece of Ground beyond *Goſwel* Street, near *Mount-Mill*, being ſome of the Remains of the old Lines or Fortifications of the City, where Abundance were buried promiſcuouſly from the Pariſhes of *Alderſgate*, *Clerkenwell*, and even out of the City. This Ground, as I take it, was ſince made a Phyſick Garden, and after that has been built upon.

2. A piece of Ground juſt over the *Black Ditch*, as it was then call'd, at the end of *Holloway Lane*, in *Shoreditch* Pariſh; it has been ſince made a Yard for keeping Hogs, and for other ordinary Uſes, but is quite out of Uſe as a burying Ground.

3. The upper End of *Hand-Alley* in *Biſhopſgate* Street, which was then a green Field, and was taken in particularly for *Biſhopſgate* Pariſh, tho' many of the Carts out of the City brought their dead thither alſo, particularly out of the Pariſh of St. *Allhallows* on the *Wall*; this Place I cannot mention without much Regret, it was, as I remember, about two or three Year after the Plague was ceas'd that Sir *Robert Clayton* came to be poſſeſt of the Ground; it was reported, how true I know not, that it fell to the King for want of Heirs, all thoſe who had any Right to it being carried off by the Peſtilence, and that Sir *Robert Clayton* obtain'd a Grant of it from

from King *Charles* II. But however he came by it, certain it is, the Ground was let out to build on, or built upon by his Order: The first House built upon it was a large fair House still standing, which faces the Street, or Way, now call'd *Hand-Alley*, which, tho' call'd an *Alley*, is as wide as a Street: The Houses in the same Row with that House Northward, are built on the very same Ground where the poor People were buried, and the Bodies on opening the Ground for the Foundations, were dug up, some of them remaining so plain to be seen, that the Womens Sculls were distinguish'd by their long Hair, and of others, the Flesh was not quite perished; so that the People began to exclaim loudly against it, and some suggested that it might endanger a Return of the Contagion: After which the Bones and Bodies, as fast as they came at them, were carried to another part of the same Ground, and thrown all together into a deep Pit, dug on purpose, which now is to be known, in that it is not built on, but is a Passage to another House, at the upper end of *Rose Alley*, just against the Door of a Meeting-house, which has been built there many Years since; and the Ground is palisadoed off from the rest of the Passage, in a little square, there lye the Bones and Remains of near Two thousand Bodies, carried by the Dead-Carts to to their Grave in that one Year.

4. Besides this, there was a piece of Ground in *Moorfields*, by the going into the Street which is now call'd *Old Bethlem*, which was enlarg'd much, tho' not wholly taken in on the same occasion.

N. B. The Author of this Journal, lyes buried in that very Ground, being at his own Desire, his Sister having been buried there a few Years before.

5. *Stepney* Parish, extending it self from the East part of *London* to the *North*, even to the very Edge

Edge of *Shoreditch* Church-yard, had a piece of Ground taken in to bury their Dead, close to the said Church-yard; and which for that very Reason was left open, and is since, I suppose, taken into the same Church-yard; and they had also two other burying Places in *Spittlefields*, one where since a Chapel or Tabernacle has been built for ease to this great Parish, and another in *Petticoat-lane*.

There were no less than Five other Grounds made use of for the Parish of *Stepney* at that time; one where now stands the Parish Church of St. *Paul's Shadwel*, and the other, where now stands the Parish Church of St. *John* at *Wapping*, both which had not the Names of Parishes at that time, but were belonging to *Stepney* Parish.

I cou'd name many more, but these coming within my particular Knowledge, the Circumstance I thought made it of Use to record them; from the whole, it may be observ'd, that they were oblig'd in this Time of Distress, to take in new burying Grounds in most of the out Parishes, for laying the prodigious Numbers of People which died in so short a Space of Time; but why Care was not taken to keep those Places separate from ordinary Uses, that so the Bodies might rest undisturb'd, that I cannot answer for, and must confess, I think it was wrong; who were to blame, I know not.

I should have mention'd, that the Quakers had at that time also a burying Ground, set a-part to their Use, and which they still make use of, and they had also a particular *dead Cart* to fetch their Dead from their Houses; and the famous *Solomon Eagle*, who, as I mentioned before, had predicted the Plague as a Judgment, and run naked thro' the Streets, telling the People, that it was come upon them, to punish them for their Sins, had his own Wife died the very next Day of the Plague,

and

and was carried one of the first in the Quakers *dead Cart*, to their new burying Ground.

I might have throng'd this Account with many more remarkable Things, which occur'd in the Time of the Infection, and particularly what pass'd between the Lord Mayor and the Court, which was then at *Oxford*, and what Directions were from time to time receiv'd from the Government for their Conduct on this critical Occasion. But really the Court concern'd themselves so little, and that little they did was of so small Import, that I do not see it of much Moment to mention any Part of it here, except that of appointing a Monthly Fast in the City, and the sending the Royal Charity to the Relief of the Poor, both which I have mention'd before.

Great was the Reproach thrown on those Physicians who left their Patients during the Sickness, and now they came to Town again, no Body car'd to employ them; they were call'd Deserters, and frequently Bills were set up upon their Doors, and written, *Here is a Doctor to be let!* So that several of those Physicians were fain for a while to sit still and look about them, or at least remove their Dwellings, and set up in new Places, and among new Acquaintance; the like was the Case with the Clergy, who the People were indeed very abusive to, writing Verses and scandalous Reflections upon them, setting upon the Church Door, *here is a Pulpit to be let*, or sometimes *to be sold*, which was worse.

It was not the least of our Misfortunes, that with our Infection, when it ceased, there did not cease the Spirit of Strife and Contention, Slander and Reproach, which was really the great Troubler of the Nation's Peace before: It was said to be the Remains of the old Animosities, which had so lately involv'd us all in Blood and Disorder. But as the late Act of Indemnity had laid asleep the Quarrel it self, so the Govern-

Government had recommended Family and Perſonal Peace upon all Occaſions, to the whole Nation.

But it cou'd not be obtain'd, and particularly after the ceaſing of the Plague in *London*, when any one that had ſeen the Condition which the People had been in, and how they careſs'd one another at that time, promis'd to have more Charity for the future, and to raiſe no more Reproaches: I ſay, any one that had ſeen them then, would have thought they would have come together with another Spirit at laſt. But, I ſay, it cou'd not be obtain'd; the Quarel remain'd, the Church and the Preſbyterians were incompatible; as ſoon as the Plague was remov'd, the diſſenting outed Miniſters who had ſupplied the Pulpits, which were deſerted by the Incumbents, retir'd, they cou'd expect no other; but that they ſhould immediately fall upom them, and harraſs them, with their penal Laws, accept their preaching while they were ſick, and perſecute them as ſoon as they were recover'd again, this even we that were of the Church thought was very hard, and cou'd by no means approve of it.

But it was the Government, and we cou'd ſay nothing to hinder it; we cou'd only ſay, it was not our doing, and we could not anſwer for it.

On the other Hand, the Diſſenters reproaching thoſe Miniſters of the Church with going away, and deſerting their Charge, abandoning the People in their Danger, and when they had moſt need of Comfort and the like, this we cou'd by no means approve; for all Men have not the ſame Faith, and the ſame Courage, and the Scripture commands us to judge the moſt favourably, and according to Charity.

A Plague is a formidable Enemy, and is arm'd with Terrors, that every Man is not ſufficiently fortified to reſiſt, or prepar'd to ſtand the Shock againſt:

againſt: It is very certain, that a great many of the Clergy, who were in Circumſtances to do it, withdrew, and fled for the Safety of their Lives; but 'tis true alſo, that a great many of them ſtaid, and many of them fell in the Calamity, and in the Diſcharge of their Duty.

It is true, ſome of the Diſſenting turn'd out Miniſters ſtaid, and their Courage is to be commended, and highly valued, but theſe were not abundance; it cannot be ſaid that they all ſtaid, and that none retir'd into the Country, any more than it can be ſaid of the Church Clergy, that they all went away; neither did all thoſe that went away, go without ſubſtituting Curates, and others in their Places, to do the Offices needful, and to viſit the Sick, as far as it was practicable; ſo that upon the whole, an Allowance of Charity might have been made on both Sides, and we ſhould have conſider'd, that ſuch a time as this of 1665, is not to be parallel'd in Hiſtory, and that it is not the ſtouteſt Courage that will always ſupport Men in ſuch Caſes; I had not ſaid this, but had rather choſen to record the Courage and religious Zeal of thoſe of both Sides, who did hazard themſelves for the Service of the poor People in their Diſtreſs, without remembring that any fail'd in their Duty on either ſide. But the want of Temper among us, has made the contrary to this neceſſary; ſome that ſtaid, not only boaſting too much of themſelves, but reviling thoſe that fled, branding them with Cowardice, deſerting their Flocks, and acting the Part of the Hirleing, and the like: I recommend it to the Charity of all good People to look back, and reflect duly upon the Terrors of the Time; and whoever does ſo will ſee, that it is not an ordinary Strength that cou'd ſupport it, it was not like appearing in the Head of an Army, or charging a Body of Horſe in the Field; but it was charging Death it ſelf

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on his pale Horſe; to ſtay was indeed to die, and it could be eſteemed nothing leſs, eſpecially as things appear'd at the latter End of *Auguſt*, and the Beginning of *September*, and as there was reaſon to expect them at that time; for no Man expected, and I dare ſay, believed, that the Diſtemper would take ſo ſudden a Turn as it did, and fall immediately 2000 in a Week, when there was ſuch a prodigious Number of People ſick at that Time, as it was known there was; and then it was that many ſhifted away, that had ſtay'd moſt of the time before.

Beſides, if God gave Strength to ſome more than to others, was it to boaſt of their Ability to abide the Stroak, and upbraid thoſe that had not the ſame Gift and Support, or ought not they rather to have been humble and thankful, if they were render'd more uſeful than their Brethren?

I think it ought to be recorded to the Honour of ſuch Men, as well Clergy as Phyſicians, Surgeons, Apothecaries, Magiſtrates and Officers of every kind, as alſo all uſeful People, who ventur'd their Lives in Diſcharge of their Duty, as moſt certainly all ſuch as ſtay'd did to the laſt Degree, and ſeveral of all theſe Kinds did not only venture but loſe their Lives on that ſad Occaſion.

I was once making a Liſt of all ſuch, I mean of all thoſe Profeſſions and Employments, who thus died, as I call it, in the way of their Duty, but it was impoſſible for a private Man to come at a Certainty in the Particulats; I only remember, that there died ſixteen Clergy-men, two Aldermen, five Phyſicians, thirteen Surgeons, within the City and Liberties before the beginning of *September*: But this being, as I ſaid before, the great Criſis and Extremity of the Infection, it can be no compleat Liſt: As to inferior People, I think there died ſix and forty

Constables and Headboroughs in the two Parishes of *Stepney* and *White-Chapel*; but I could not carry my List on, for when the violent Rage of the Distemper in *September* came upon us, it drove us out of all Measures: Men did then no more die by Tale and by Number, they might put out a Weekly Bill, and call them seven or eight Thousand, or what they pleas'd; 'tis certain they died by Heaps, and were buried by Heaps, that is to say without Account; and if I might believe some People, who were more abroad and more conversant with those things than I, tho' I was public enough for one that had no more Business to do than I had, I say, if I may believe them, there was not many less buried those first three Weeks in *September* than 20000 *per* Week; however the others aver the Truth of it, yet I rather chuse to keep to the public Account; seven and eight thousand *per* Week is enough to make good all that I have said of the Terror of those Times; and it is much to the Satisfaction of me that write, as well as those that read, to be able to say, that every thing is set down with Moderation, and rather within Compass than beyond it.

Upon all these Accounts I say I could wish, when we were recover'd, our Conduct had been more distinguish'd for Charity and Kindness in Remembrance of the past Calamity, and not so much a valuing our selves upon our Boldness in staying, as if all Men were Cowards that fly from the Hand of God, or that those, who stay, do not sometimes owe their Courage to their Ignorance, and despising the Hand of their Maker, which is a criminal kind of Desperation, and not a true Courage.

I cannot but leave it upon Record, that the Civil Officers, such as Constables, Headboroughs, Lord Mayor's, and Sheriff's-men, as also Parish-Officers, whose Business it was to take Charge of the Poor,

did

did their Duties in general with as much Courage as any, and perhaps with more, becauſe their Work was attended with more Hazards, and lay more among the Poor, who were more ſubject to be infected and in the moſt pitiful Plight when they were taken with the Infection: But then it muſt be added too, that a great Number of them died, indeed it was ſcarce poſſible it ſhould be otherwiſe.

I have not ſaid one Word here about the Phyſick or Preparations that we ordinarily made uſe of on this terrible Occaſion, I mean we that went frequently abroad up and down Street, as I did; much of this was talk'd of in the Books and Bills of our Quack Doctors, of whom I have ſaid enough already. It may however be added, that the College of Phyſicians were daily publiſhing ſeveral Preparations, which they had conſider'd of in the Proceſs of their Practice, and which being to be had in Print, I avoid repeating them for that reaſon.

One thing I could not help obſerving, what befell one of the Quacks, who publiſh'd that he had a moſt excellent Preſervative againſt the Plague, which whoever kept about them, ſhould never be infected, or liable to Infection; this Man, who we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, did not go abroad without ſome of this *excellent Preſervative* in his Pocket, yet was taken by the Diſtemper, and carry'd off in two or three Days

I am not of the Number of the Phyſic-Haters, or Phyſic-Deſpiſers; on the contrary, I have often mentioned the regard I had to the Dictates of my particular Friend Dr. *Heath*; but yet I muſt acknowledge, I made uſe of little or nothing, except as I have obſerv'd, to keep a Preparation of ſtrong Scent to have ready, in caſe I met with any thing of offenſive Smells, or went too near any burying place, or dead Body.

Neither did I do, what I know some did, keep the Spirits always high and hot with Cordials, and Wine, and such things, and which, as I observ'd, one learned Physician used himself so much to, as that he could not leave them off when the Infection was quite gone, and so became a Sot for all his Life after.

I remember, my Friend the Doctor us'd to say, that there was a certain Set of Drugs and Preparations, which were all certainly good and useful in the case of an Infection; out of which, or with which, Physicians might make an infinite Variety of Medicines, as the Ringers of Bells make several Hundred different Rounds of Musick by the changing and Order of Sound but in six Bells; and that all these Preparations shall be really very good; therefore, said he, I do not wonder that so vast a Throng of Medicines is offer'd in the present Calamity; and almost every Physician prescribes or prepares a different thing, as his Judgment or Experience guides him: but, says my Friend, let all the Prescriptions of all the Physicians in *London* be examined; and it will be found, that they are all compounded of the same things, with such Variations only, as the particular Fancy of the Doctor leads him to; so that, says he, every Man judging a little of his own Constitution and manner of his living, and Circumstances of his being infected, may direct his own Medicines out of the ordinary Drugs and Preparations: Only that, says he, some recommend one thing as most sovereign, and some another; some, says he, think that *Pill. Ruff.* which is call'd itself the Anti-pestilential Pill, is the best Preparation that can be made; others think, that *Venice* Treacle is sufficient of it self to resist the Contagion, and I, says he, think as both these think, *viz.* that the last is good to take beforehand to prevent it, and the last, if touch'd, to expel it. According to this Opinion. I

ſeveral times took *Venice Treacle* and a ſound Sweat upon it, and thought my ſelf as well fortified againſt the Infection as any one could be fortifyed by the Power of Phyſic.

As for Quackery and Mountebank, of which the Town was ſo full, I liſtened to none of them, and have obſerv'd often ſince with ſome Wonder, that for two Years after the Plague, I ſcarcely ſaw or heard of one of them about Town. Some fancied they were all ſwept away in the Infection to a Man, and were for calling it a particular Mark of God's Vengeance upon them, for leading the poor People into the Pit of Deſtruction, merely for the Lucre of a little Money they got by them; but I cannot go that Length neither; that Abundance of them died is certain, many of them came within the Reach of my own Knowledge; but that all of them were ſwept off I much queſtion; I believe rather, they fled into the Country, and tryed their Practices upon the People there, who were in Apprehenſion of the Infection, before it came among them.

This however is certain, not a Man of them appear'd for a great while in or about *London*; there were indeed ſeveral Doctors, who publiſhed Bills, recommending their ſeveral phyſical Preparations for cleanſing the Body, as they call it, after the Plague, and needful, as they ſaid, for ſuch People to take, who had been viſited and had been cur'd; whereas I muſt own, I believe that it was the Opinion of the moſt eminent Phyſicians at that time, that the Plague was itſelf a ſufficient Purge; and that thoſe who eſcaped the Infection needed no Phyſic to cleanſe their Bodies of any other things; the running Sores, the Tumors, *&c.* which were broke and kept open by the Directions of the Phyſicians, having ſufficiently cleanſed them; and that all other Diſtempers and Cauſes of Diſtempers were effectually carried off that Way; and as the Phy-

ſicians gave this as their Opinions, wherever they came, the Quacks got little Buſineſs.

There were indeed ſeveral little Hurries, which happen'd after the Decreaſe of the Plague, and which whether they were contriv'd to fright and diſorder the People, as ſome imagin'd, I cannot ſay, but ſometimes we were told the Plague would return by ſuch a Time; and the famous *Solomon Eagle* the naked Quaker, I have mention'd, propheſy'd evil Tidings every Day; and ſeveral others telling us that *London* had not been ſufficiently ſcourg'd, and the ſorer and ſeverer Strokes were yet behind; had they ſtop'd there, or had they deſcended to Particulars, and told us that the City ſhould the next Year be deſtroyed by Fire; then indeed, when we had ſeen it come to paſs, we ſhould not have been to blame to have paid more than a common Reſpect to their Prophetick Spirits, at leaſt we ſhould have wonder'd at them, and have been more ſerious in our Enquiries after the meaning of it, and whence they had the Fore-knowledge: But as they generally told us of a Relapſe into the Plague, we have had no Concern ſince that about them; yet by theſe frequent Clamours, we were all kept with ſome kind of Apprehenſions conſtantly upon us, and if any died ſuddenly, or if the ſpotted Fevers at any time increaſed, we were preſently alarm'd; much more if the Number of the Plague encreaſed, for to the End of the Year, there were always between 2 and 300 of the Plague; on any of theſe Occaſions, I ſay, we were alarm'd anew.

Thoſe, who remember the City of *London* before the Fire, muſt remember, that there was then no ſuch Place as that we now call *Newgate*-Market. But that in the Middle of the Street, which is now call'd *Blow-bladder Street*, and which had its Name from the Butchers, who us'd to kill and dreſs their Sheep

Sheep there; (and who it ſeems had a Cuſtom to blow up their Meat with Pipes to make it look thicker and fatter than it was, and were puniſh'd there for it by the Lord Mayor) I ſay, from the End of the Street towards *Newgate*, there ſtood two long Rows of Shambles for the ſelling Meat.

It was in thoſe Shambles, that two Perſons falling down dead, as they were buying Meat, gave Riſe to a Rumor that the Meat was all infected, which tho' it might affright the People, and ſpoil'd the Market for two or three Days; yet it appear'd plainly afterwards, that there was nothing of Truth in the Suggeſtion: But no Body can account for the Poſſeſſion of Fear when it takes hold of the Mind.

However it pleas'd God by the continuing of the Winter Weather to reſtore the Health of the City, that by *February* following, we reckon'd the Diſtemper quite ceas'd, and then we were not ſo eaſily frighted again.

There was ſtill a Queſtion among the Learned, and at firſt it perplex'd the People a little, and that was, in what manner to purge the Houſes and Goods, where the Plague had been; and how to render them habitable again, which had been left empty during the time of the Plague; Abundance of Perfumes and Preparations were preſcrib'd by Phyſicians, ſome of one kind and ſome of another, in which the People, who liſtened to them, put themſelves to a great, and indeed in my Opinion, to an unneceſſary Expence; and the poorer People, who only ſet open their Windows Night and Day, burnt Brimſtone, Pitch, and Gun-powder and ſuch things in their Rooms, did as well as the beſt; nay, the eager People, who as I ſaid above, came Home in haſt and at all Hazards, found little or no Inconvenience in their Houſes nor in the Goods, and did little or nothing to them.

However, in general, prudent cautious People did enter into some Measures for airing and sweetning their Houses, and burnt Perfumes, Incense, Benjamin, Rozin, and Sulphur in the Rooms close shut up, and then let the Air carry it all out with a Blast of Gun-powder; others caused large Fires to be made all Day and all Night, for several Days and Nights; by the same Token, that two or three were pleas'd to set their Houses on Fire, and so effectually sweetned them by burning them down to the Ground; as particularly one at *Ratcliff*, one in *Holbourn*, and one at *Westminster*; besides two or three that were set on Fire, but the Fire was happily got out again, before it went far enough to burn down the Houses; and one Citizen's Servant, I think it was in *Thames* Street, carryed so much Gunpowder into his Master's House for clearing it of the Infection, and managed it so foolishly, that he blew up part of the Roof of the House. But the Time was not fully come, that the City was to be purg'd by Fire, nor was it far off; for within Nine Months more I saw it all lying in Ashes; when, as some of our Quacking Philosophers pretend, the Seeds of the Plague were entirely destroy'd and not before; a Notion too ridiculous to speak of here, since, had the Seeds of the Plague remain'd in the Houses, not to be destroyed but by Fire, how has it been, that they have not since broken out? Seeing all those Buildings in the Suburbs and Liberties, and in the great Parishes of *Stepney*, *White-Chapel*, *Aldgate*, *Bishopsgate*, *Shoreditch*, *Cripplegate* and St. *Giles's*, where the Fire never came, and where the Plague rag'd with the greatest Violence, remain still in the same Condition they were in before.

But to leave these things just as I found them, it was certain, that those People, who were more than ordinarily

ordinarily cautious of their Health, did take particular Directions for what they called Seasoning of their Houses, and Abundance of costly Things were consum'd on that Account, which, I cannot but say, not only seasoned those Houses, as they desir'd, but fill'd the Air with very grateful and wholesome Smells, which others had the Share of the Benefit of, as well as those who were at the Expences of them.

And yet after all, tho' the Poor came to Town very precipitantly, as I have said, yet I must say, the rich made no such Haste; the Men of Business indeed came up, but many of them did not bring their Families to Town, till the Spring came on, and that they saw Reason to depend upon it, that the Plague would not return.

The Court indeed came up soon after Christmas, but the Nobility and Gentry, except such as depended upon, and had Employment under the Administration, did not come so soon.

I should have taken Notice here, that notwithstanding the Violence of the Plague in *London* and in other Places, yet it was very observable, that it was never on Board the Fleet; and yet for some time there was a strange Press in the River, and even in the Streets for Sea-Men to man the Fleet. But it was in the Beginning of the Year, when the Plague was scarce begun, and not at all come down to that part of the City, where they usually press for Seamen; and tho' a War with the *Dutch* was not at all grateful to the People at that time, and the Seamen went with a kind of Reluctancy into the Service, and many complain'd of being drag'd into it by Force, yet it prov'd in the Event a happy Violence to several of them, who had probably perish'd in the general Calamity, and who after the Summer Service was over, tho' they had Cause to lament

lament the Desolation of their Families, who, when they came back, were many of them in their Graves; yet they had room to be thankful, that they were carried out of the Reach of it, tho' so much against their Wills; we indeed had a hot War with the *Dutch* that Year, and one very great Engagement at Sea, in which the *Dutch* were worsted; but we lost a great many Men and some Ships. But, as I observ'd, the Plague was not in the Fleet, and when they came to lay up the Ships in the River, the violent part of it began to abate.

I would be glad, if I could close the Account of this melancholy Year with some particular Examples historically; I mean of the Thankfulness to God our Preserver for our being delivered from this dreadful Calamity; certainly the Circumstances of the Deliverance, as well as the terrible Enemy we were delivered from, call'd upon the whole Nation for it; the Circumstances of the Deliverance were indeed very remarkable, as I have in part mention'd already, and particularly the dreadful Condition, which we were all in, when we were, to the Surprize of the whole Town, made joyful with the Hope of a Stop of the Infection.

Nothing, but the immediate Finger of God, nothing, but omnipotent Power could have done it; the Contagion despised all Medicine, Death rag'd in every Corner; and had it gone on as it did then, a few Weeks more would have clear'd the Town of all, and every thing that had a Soul: Men every where began to despair, every Heart fail'd them for Fear, People were made desperate thro' the Anguish of their Souls, and the Terrors of Death sat in the very Faces and Countenances of the People.

In that very Moment, when we might very well say, Vain was the Help of Man; I say in that very Moment

Moment it pleaſed God, with a moſt agreeable Surprize, to cauſe the Fury of it to abate, even of it ſelf, and the Malignity declining, as I have ſaid, tho' infinite Numbers were ſick, yet fewer died; and the very firſt Week's Bill decreaſed 1843, a vaſt Number indeed!

It is impoſſible to expreſs the Change that appear'd in the very Countenances of the People, that *Thurſday* Morning, when the Weekly Bill came out; it might have been perceived in their Countenances, that a ſecret Surprize and Smile of Joy ſat on every Bodies Face; they ſhook one another by the Hands in the Streets, who would hardly go on the ſame Side of the way with one another before; where the Streets were not too broad, they would open their Windows and call from one Houſe to another, and aſk'd how they did, and if they had heard the good News, that the Plague was abated; Some would return when they ſaid good News, and aſk, *what good News?* and when they anſwered, that the Plague was abated, and the Bills decreaſed almoſt 2000, they would cry out, *God be praiſed*; and would weep aloud for Joy, telling them they had heard nothing of it; and ſuch was the Joy of the People that it was as it were Life to them from the Grave. I could almoſt ſet down as many extravagant things done in the Exceſs of their Joy, as of their Grief; but that would be to leſſen the Value of it.

I muſt confeſs my ſelf to have been very much dejected juſt before this happen'd; for the prodigious Number that were taken ſick the Week or two before, beſides thoſe that died, was ſuch, and the Lamentations were ſo great every where, that a Man muſt have ſeemed to have acted even againſt his Reaſon, if he had ſo much as expected to eſcape; and as there was hardly a Houſe, but mine, in all my Neighbourhood, but what was infected; ſo had it gone on,

it

it would not have been long, that there would have been any more Neighbours to be infected; indeed it is hardly credible, what dreadful Havock the last three Weeks had made, for if I might believe the Person, whose Calculations I always found very well grounded, there were not less than 30000 People dead, and near 100 thousand fallen sick in the three Weeks I speak of; for the Number that sickened was surprising, indeed it was astonishing, and those whose Courage upheld them all the time before, sunk under it now.

In the Middle of their Distress, when the Condition of the City of *London* was so truly calamitous, just then it pleased God, as it were, by his immediate Hand to disarm this Enemy; the Poyson was taken out of the Sting, it was wonderful, even the Physicians themselves were surprized at it; wherever they visited, they found their Patients better, either they had sweated kindly, or the Tumours were broke, or the Carbuncles went down, and the Inflammations round them chang'd Colour, or the Fever was gone, or the violent Headach was asswag'd, or some good Symptom was in the Case; so that in a few Days, every Body was recovering, whole Families that were infected and down, that had Ministers praying with them, and expected Death every Hour, were revived and healed, and none died at all out of them.

Nor was this by any new Medicine found out, or new Method of Cure discovered, or by any Experience in the Operation, which the Physicians or Surgeons had attain'd to; but it was evidently from the secret invisible Hand of him, that had at first sent this Disease as a Judgment upon us; and let the Atheistic part of Mankind call my Saying this what they please, it is no Enthusiasm; it was acknowledg'd at that time by all Mankind; the Disease

eaſe was enervated, and its Malignity ſpent, and let it proceed from whenceſoever it will, let the Philoſophers ſearch for Reaſons in Nature to account for it by, and labour as much as they will to leſſen the Debt they owe to their Maker; thoſe Phyſicians, who had the leaſt Share of Religion in them, were oblig'd to acknowledge that it was all ſupernatural, that it was extraordinary, and that no Account could be given of it.

If I ſhould ſay, that this is a viſible Summons to us all to Thankfulneſs, eſpecially we that were under the Terror of its Increaſe, perhaps it may be thought by ſome, after the Senſe of the thing was over, an officious canting of religious things, preaching a Sermon inſtead of writing a Hiſtory, making my ſelf a Teacher inſtead of giving my Obſervations of things; and this reſtrains me very much from going on here, as I might otherwiſe do: But if ten Leapers were healed, and but one return'd to give Thanks, I deſire to be as that one, and to be thankful for my ſelf.

Nor will I deny, but there were Abundance of People who to all Appearance were very thankful at that time; for their Mouths were ſtop'd, even the Mouths of thoſe, whoſe Hearts were not extraordinary long affected with it: But the Impreſſion was ſo ſtrong at that time, that it could not be reſiſted, no not by the worſt of the People.

It was a common thing to meet People in the Street, that were Strangers, and that we knew nothing at all of, expreſſing their Surprize. Going one Day thro' *Aldgate*, and a pretty many People being paſſing and repaſſing, there comes a Man out of the End of the *Minories*, and looking a little up the Street and down, he throws his Hands abroad, *Lord, what an Alteration is here!* Why, laſt Week I came along here, and hardly any Body was

was to be seen; another Man, I heard him, adds to his Words, 'tis all wonderful, 'tis all a Dream: Blessed be God, says a third Man, aud let us give Thanks to him, for 'tis all his own doing: Human Help and human Skill was at an End. These were all Strangers to one another: But such Salutations as these were frequent in the Street every Day; and in Spight of a loose Behaviour, the very common People went along the Streets, giving God Thanks for their Deliverance.

It was now, as I said before, the People had cast off all Apprehensions, and that too fast; indeed we were no more afraid now to pass by a Man with a white Cap upon his Head, or with a Cloth wrapt round his Neck, or with his Leg limping, occasion'd by the Sores in his Groyn, all which were frightful to the last Degree, but the Week before; but now the Street was full of them, and these poor recovering Creatures, give them their Due, appear'd very sensible of their unexpected Deliverance; and I should wrong them very much, if I should not acknowledge, that I believe many of them were really thankful; but I must own, that for the Generality of the People it might too justly be said of them, as was said of the Children of *Israel*, after their being delivered from the Host of *Pharaoh*, when they passed the *Red-Sea*, and look'd back, and saw the *Egyptians* overwhelmed in the Water, *viz.* That *they sang his Praise, but they soon forgot his Works.*

I can go no farther here, I should be counted censorious, and perhaps unjust, if I should enter into the unpleasant Work of reflecting, whatever Cause there was for it, upon the Unthankfulness and Return of all manner of Wickedness among us, which I was so much an Eye-Witness of my self;

I ſhall conclude the Account of this calamitous Year therefore with a coarſe but ſincere Stanza of my own, which I plac'd at the End of my ordinary Memorandums, the ſame Year they were written:

A dreadful Plague in London *was,*
In the Year Sixty Five,
Which ſwept an Hundred Thouſand Souls
Away; yet I alive!

H. F.

FINIS.

USEFUL
TRANSACTIONS
IN
PHILOSOPHY,
And other sorts of
LEARNING,
For the Months of
March and *April*, 1709.

To be continu'd MONTHLY, as they Sell.

LONDON:
Printed for BERNARD LINTOTT, at the *Cross-Keys*, between the two *Temple*-Gates, in *Fleetstreet*.

Price 1 *s*.

USEFUL

TRANSACTIONS

IN

PHILOSOPHY.

Being the First of

LEARNING,

For the Month of

April, 1749.

To be continu'd MONTHLY, as
the Sell.

LONDON:

Printed for RICHARD MANBY, at the
Corner, between the two Temple-
Gates, in Fleet-street.

Price 6d.

Preface to the Reader.

It is not doubted, but as these Useful Transactions *become more Publick they will encourage worthy and ingenious Persons to send in such Materials, as may for the future contribute to the Good and Welfare of their Native Country.*

As to the present Transactions, it is to be noted, that in the Eunuch's Child, *such a Misfortune actually happen'd in* England *as is reported there from* Italy, *of a young Gentlewoman, who has Acted in the* Play-house *for her Diversion, that was deceiv'd by the Appearance of a Man, that is an* Eunuch, *who was ambitious of a Nights Lodging with her to no purpose. The Matter is known both at* Drury-lane *and in the* Hay-market.

As for the Discourse of Tongues, it were to be wish'd, that Persons would be more communicative and forward to promote the publick Good. Nothing could be more useful than a full and true Inspection of Human Tongues, and therefore it is hop'd that if any Persons know themselves to be notorious Busie-Bodies, Canters, Flatterers, Lyars, Tongue-Padds, Spokesmen,

Rattlers, Bouncers, &c. *they would in their Wills bequeath their* Tongues *to be dissected, and view'd by the Microscopes of the Useful Society, which would produce many wonderful* Phænomena.

As to the Migration of Cuckoo's, *where mention is made of* Auguration, *it is no new Thing, but well known among the Ancients.* Pausanias *tells us, That* Parnassus *a Son of the Nymph* Cleodora *was the Inventor of it, who likewise gave his Name to that Mountain so celebrated by the Poets. That Mr.* D'Urfey's *Birds should seem different from those common Ones that flie about, or are in Cages, is no new or wonderful Thing; for Sir* Walter Raleigh, *who is an Author of undoubted Credit, tells us, That the common* Crow *or* Rook *of* India *is full of Red Feathers in the low Islands of* Coribana, *and the* Black-bird *and* Thrush *hath his Feathers mixt with Black and Carnation in the North Parts of* Virginia: *So that red* Crows *and* Rooks, *and Carnation colour'd* Thrushes *and* Black-birds *are no Strangers to the other part of the World, tho' a Man would be thought to banter here, should he mention such Things without so good an Authority as that of Sir* Walter Raleigh.

The Trypal Vessels mention'd in the fourth Dissertation are not to be slighted, since they are such Things as when nicely toss'd up in a Ragoue, *often serve as a Dish in the Entertainment of Princes.*

As

As to what concerns the Conſecrated Clouts, I muſt aquaint the Reader, that I lately received a Letter from Rome, *containing an Affair of great Importance, which is, that whilſt his Holineſs Pope* Clement *was lately romaging the Caſtle of St.* Angelo, *for the Treaſure of* Sextus Quintus *to help to pay his Taterdemallian Forces, who had more Guitars than Horſes or Muſquets, he found in a Corner an old Cheſt that had lain moulding for many Ages; which being open'd with much ado, expecting great Treaſure; It prov'd to be a Collection of the Child-bed-linnen provided for her Holineſs Pope* Joan, *ſhe and her Child dying in the Proceſſion, as Hiſtory records; they were laid up in caſe any future Infallibility ſhou'd have occaſion to make uſe of them. There were* 3 *Mantles,* 6 *Blankets,* 6 *Beds,* 10 *Night-caps,* 8 *Day-caps,* 12 *Biggins next the Head,* 12 *Neckcloaths, a dozen and a half of Slobbering-bibs,* 6 *pair of Gloves,* 6 *pair of Sleeves, ſeveral Stays,* 4 *Rollers,* 8 *Belly-bands, and* 10 *Pilches. It was no unpleaſant Sight to ſee the Pope and the old Cardinals handling and poring upon this Child-Bed Equipage, tho' moſt of them had paid for ſeveral Sets for their Nieces and Nephews. There were ten dozen of extraordinary large Diaper and Damaſk Clouts, and there was a Memorandum tack'd to 'em, that by a peculiar Sanctity and Quality that*

they were endow'd with, they would cause a great Astringency when apply'd to Human Posteriors; which being taken notice of by Cardinal Trimalchini, *he made this Elegant Speech.*

May it please you Holy Father,

These Clouts seem to have been the most useful Things that could have been discover'd in the present Circumstances of *Europe*. We see their Virtues have been transmitted down to us for many Ages. And now we have the greatest Occasion for the Tryal of them. I would desire therefore that your Holiness would be pleased to distribute them in such Proportion as you shall think most fitting amongst the sacred Consistory. For if the *Germans* make daily such Approaches towards *Rome*; rattle so with their Drums, and thunder so with their Canon: I may be bold to say, that unless some extraordinary Application is made, we may all of us chance to be no sweeter than we should be.

So far my Author.

I shall detain my Reader no longer with a Preface, but leave him to gather what Benefit he can from the ensuing Pages.

A TABLE to the Transactions for *January* and *February*.

I. AN *Essay on the Invention of Samplers, communicated by Mrs.* Judith Bagford, *with an Account of her Collections for the same.* By Mrs. *Arabella Manly*, School-Mistress at *Hackney*.

II. *Some natural Observations made in the School of* Llandwwfwrhwy. By *R. P.* during his Residence there.

III. *An Essay proving by Arguments Philosophical, that* Millers, *tho' falsly so reputed, yet in reality are not Thieves: With an intervening Argument, that* Taylors *likewise are not so. In a Letter to Dr.* Harborough *from Dr.* Williams.

IV. *An Account of Books, in Letters to Dr.* Littlebrand *to Dr.* Playford: *With an Account of* Meursius's *Treatise of the* Grecian Games.

V. *An Account of* Meursius's *Book of the Plays of the* Grecian Boys, *in a second Letter.*

VI. *A new Method to teach learned Men how to write Unintelligibly: Being Collections out of* Softlinius *an* Italian, Bardowlius *and* Bardocoxcombius, *One Poet Laureat to K.* Ludd, *the other to Q.* Bonduca, Scornsensius *an* Egyptian, *&c. Communicated by Mr.* Loveit *to Mr.* Lackit.

TABLE to *March* and *April*.

I. THE *Eunuch's Child, with some important Queries, whether a Woman according to Justice, and any Principles of Philosophy, may*

lay a Child to an Eunuch: As the Matter was argu'd between the Church-Wardens of Santo Chryſoſtomo *in* Venice, *and the learned Academy of the* Curioſi *there: Occaſion'd by an Accident of that Nature happening to* Seignior Valentio Crimpaldi, *Knight of the Order of the* Caponi.

II. *The Tongue. New Additions to Mr.* Anthony Van Leeuwenhoeck's *Microſcopical Obſervations upon the Tongue, and the White Matter on the Tongues of Feveriſh Perſons. In which are ſhew'd the ſeveral Partieles proper for* Pratling, Tatling, Pleading, Haranguing, Lying, Flattering, Scolding, *and other ſuch like Occaſions, communicated by Dr.* Teſty.

III. *Migration of* Cuckoo's. *A Letter concerning the Migration of* Cukoo's, *with their Deſtruction of Eggs. And general Remarks concerning Birds-Neſts, with the Speech of Birds, communicated by Mr.* Mart. Cheapum, *M. A.* F. U. S.

IV. *Some material Remarks upon Mr.* Anthony Van Leeuwenhoeck's *Microſcopical Obſervations on the Membranes of the Inteſtines, and other Trypal Veſſels, communicated by a Grave Matron in* Field-Lane, *long accuſtom'd to Experiments of that Nature.*

V. *An Hiſtorical and Chronological Account of Conſecrated Clouts, communicated by the Ingenious and Learned Virtuoſo,* Seignior Giovanni Barberini *of* Chelſognia; *occaſion'd by a Paſſage in the* Poſt-Boy, *that the Pope has lately made a Preſent of the ſame Nature to the Young Prince of* Aſturias.

THE

Numb. II.

THE Eunuch's Child.

Some important Queries, whether a Woman according to Juſtice, and any Principles of Philoſophy, may lay a Child to an Eunuch: As the Matter was argu'd between the Church-Wardens of Santo Chryſoſtomo *in* Venice, *and the learned Academy of the* Curioſi *there: Occaſion'd by an Accident of that Nature happening to* Seignior Valentio Crimpaldi, *Knight of the Order of the* Caponi.

SIR,

THERE happen'd not long ago in *Venice* a remarkable Accident, which has given occaſion for many Speculations. There was a young Woman of creditable Parentage, only led away by the Deluſions of Youth, that came and made Oath before Mr. Juſtice *Nani*, that ſhe was with Child by the *Seignior Valentio Crimpaldi*, and deſir'd his War-

rant againſt him that he might Father it. The Church-Wardens of *Santo Chryſoſtomo* at the ſame time appear'd for the Pariſh, and preſs'd the Matter home upon the Juſtice, who ſeem'd averſe to granting any; not only out of Reſpect to the Quality of the Perſon, who was a *Cavaliero*; but likewiſe becauſe he was publickly known and reputed to be an *Eunuch*.

However, the Church-Wardens, together with the Overſeers and Sideſmen were very importunate, and the Woman with a Modeſty that ſhew'd as if *That* had been her only Slip, perſiſted in her firſt Aſſertion, owning indeed, that ſhe truſted to the Faith of the *Seignior*'s being an *Eunuch*. But however, the Child was *His*.

The Juſtice was an Hiſtorian and a Vertuoſo, and told them, That *all the Eaſtern People had Eunuchs for their Prime Confidents, becauſe they would keep their Women to themſelves*; and then argu'd from the various Parts that were wanting, that the Matter was impoſſible.

However, one of the Sideſmen being a *Horſe-Courſer*, ſpoke much to the ſprightlineſs of Geldings, and as to ſeveral of their Feats of Activity, inſomuch, that he ſtagger'd the Juſtice; who living near the Academy of the *Curioſi*, ſent for ſome of his learned Neighbours to help him out in this Difficulty.

The Hall was quickly full, and after some Arguments managed with much Earneſtneſs, the Venerable *Seignior Aerio* by his Mien of Gravity ſeem'd to command Silence, and thus began.

"I am altogether of Opinion, that this "Child is rightly laid to the *Seignior Va-* "*lentio*, notwithſtanding his being an Eu- "nuch, and I ground my Opinion upon "the Experience I have of all ſorts of *Ef-* "*fluvia*'s, and what their Power is in the "Productions of Nature.

To account for uncommon Phænomena's may ſeem very Difficult, yet give me leave to make ſome Obſervations on former Experiments of the like kind, which with Remarks on ſome others lately made, may in ſome meaſure ſolve that Difficulty. Ph. Tranſ. N°. 315. p. 83.

"I take it, *noble Sirs*, that this Matter "might happen to proceed from the ve- "hement *Effluvia* paſſing from the Body "of *Seignior Valentio*. For I cannot ſee "how ſo lively Particles as he is compos'd "of ſhould not ſhew themſelves more *than Wax included in a Glaſs, whoſe Motion has been experimented by the Approach of a Finger near its Out-ſide.*

"The Words of the Author, if we "may compare Inanimate Things with "Animate, are very Expreſſive, and come "up to the preſent Purpoſe.

pag. 82. *It was observable of the Wax, that after the Motion and Attrition of the Glass was continu'd about three Minutes, and then ceasing, the Threads within seem'd to hang in a careless Confusion, and were not instantaneously erected. But in and about three or four Seconds of Time, they were so every way towards the Circumference of the Glass, and seemingly with so much Stoutness, that a Motion of the Glass alone would give them no great Disorder.*

pag. 83. *But that which was the most surprizing, was to see a Motion given them by the Approach of one's Hand, Finger, or any other Body, at more than three Inches Distance from the outward Surface, notwithstanding the Threads within touch'd not the Inward One. And it was farther observable, that after every Repetition of the Motion, and the new Attrition of the Glass, that the Distance at which the Threads might be mov'd seem'd to be encreased, and at another time upon sudden clapping of spread Hands on the* PARTS, *there has been such a violent Agitation of the Threads within, as was very surprizing, and continued so for some time.*

It seems that the Parts of the EFFLUVIA *are stiff and continued, that when any part of them are pushed, all that are on the same Line suffer the same Disorder.*

So

So allowing a Continuation of Parts, the EFFLUVIA *within and thoſe without are all of a Peice; for they are both begot by the ſame Attrition, that when the* EFFLUVIA *are puſh'd or diſturb'd without, the* EFFLUVIA *within in the ſame Direction are ſo too, and conſequently the Threads which are upheld and directed by them.*

It ſeems *deducible from many other Arguments of this Author, that the Figure of the Parts of Glaſs and Sealing-wax, are much alike; otherwiſe the* EFFLUVIA *of one could not penetrate or paſs with ſuch eaſe the Body of the other, and then act as if it was one and the ſame with it.* Ph. Tranſ. N°. 318. p. 221.

" I ſhall leave the Application of what " I have ſaid to this Auguſt and Learned " Audience. As to the Vulgar, they know " I have always deſpiſed their common " Sentiments.

When *Seignior Aerio* had decently diſpoſed himſelf, up roſe *Seignior Clappario*, whoſe Velvet Cloak and Cane of Ebony ingag'd the Eyes of the Spectators to be fix'd upon him: Who thus began.

" I altogether agree, MOST NOBLE " SIRS, with that illuſtrious Perſon that " ſpoke laſt, as to the whole Nature of " *Effluvias*, and their admirable Effects in " all Productions. Then turning himſelf " about to the Knight, he ſaid, *Moſt noble Seignior Valentio Crimpaldi*, honour'd

" with the Dignity of the *Caponi*, By
" what I have heard from the Lady here,
" you are the Father of this Child: Take
" it not, I beſeech you, amiſs; for the
" Excellency of your Voice has procur'd
" you ſufficient to provide for the help-
" leſs Mother, and this lovely Infant,
" which will take away all Reproaches
" caſt upon your Order for the future.
" I would not think the *Effluvias* pro-
" ceeding from your Perſon ſhould be of
" leſs Value or Reputation, than thoſe
" proceeding from the Artificial *Phoſpho-*
" *rus*, or poliſh'd Amber. If their *Eflu-*
" *vias* can cauſe *Light*, why may not your
" more noble *Ones* do the ſame. Give me
" leave to inform this noble Audience,
" and the World what I know concerning
" the *Artificial Phoſphorus.*

Ph. Tranſ. N°. 314. p. 69.

You may remember my telling you, many Years ago of my good Friend Mr. Boyle's *communicating to me about the Year*, 1680. *his way of making the* PHOSPHORUS *with Urine. At the ſame Time deſiring me to uſe all my Endeavours to find out ſome other Subject from whence it might be made in greater Quantity, and perhaps he might have made the like Requeſt to many more. For to uſe his own Words, he ſaid he really pitty'd his Chymiſt, who was forced to evaporate ſo prodigious a Quantity of Urine, to get a very little of the* PHOSPHORUS.

Soon

Soon after in order to ſee ſome Experiments in Chymiſtry, I lodg'd for a ſhort time at his Chymiſt's Houſe. One Mr. Bilgar *then living in* Mary le Bow-ſtreet, *near* Piccadilley, *who was indeed equally, if not more importunate with me than Mr.* Boyle *to try if I could find out ſome other Matter, from which more might be made than from Urine: Telling me there was ſo great a Demand for it, that it would be of very great Advantage to him.*

It being then a very hot Summer, I caus'd a Piece of the dry'd Matter in the Fields where they empty the HOUSES OF OFFICE *to be digged up; in which, when broken in the Dark, a great number of ſmall Particles of Phoſphorus appear'd.*

This Matter I carry'd to Mr. Boyle, *who* view'd it with great Satisfaction, *and Mr.* Bilgar *by his Direction fell to work thereon.*

You well know, Sir, that human Urine and Dung do plentifully abound with an OLEOSUM AND COMMON SALT, *ſo that I take the* ARTIFICIAL PHOSPHORUS *to be nothing elſe but that* ANIMAL OLEOSUM *coagulated with the Mineral Acid of Spirit of* SALT: *Which Coagulum is preſerved, and diſſolv'd in Water, but accended by Air.*

Theſe Conſiderations made me conjecture, that Amber (which I take to be a MINE-

RAL OLEOSUM *coagulated with a Mineral volatile Acid) might be a natural* PHOSPHORUS.

So I fell to many Experiments upon it, and at last found that by GENTLY RUBBING *a well poliſh'd Piece of* AMBER *with my Hand, in the Dark (which was the Head of my Cane) it produc'd a Light.*

Whereupon I got a pretty large piece of AMBER *which I cauſed to be made* LONG *and* TAPER, *and drawing it gently thro' my Hand, being very dry, it afforded a conſiderable Light.*

I then uſed many kinds of ſoft Animal Subſtances, and found none did ſo well as that of Wooll. And now new Phænomena offer'd themſelves; for upon drawing the Piece of AMBER *ſwiftly through the woollen Cloath, and ſqueezing it pretty hard with my Hand, a prodigious number of little Cracklings were heard, and every one of thoſe produc'd a little Flaſh of Light. But when the Amber was drawn gently and ſlightly through the Cloath, it produced a* LIGHT, *but no Crackling. But by holding ones Finger at a little Diſtance from the Amber a large Crackling is produc'd with a great Flaſh of Light ſucceeding it, and what to me is very ſurprizing, upon its Irruption it ſtrikes the Finger very ſenſibly wherever apply'd with a Puſh or Puff like Wind.*

Now I make no queſtion, but upon uſing a longer and larger piece of Amber, both the Cracklings and Light would be much greater, becauſe I never yet found any Crackling from the Head of my Cane, although 'tis a pretty large One.

Moſt noble Gentlemen,

" You cannot imagine I ſhould think " the *Effluvias* of *Seignior Valentio* and this " Lady leſs Productive of what is glori- " ous than the Amber Head of my Cane, " or thoſe Ingredients with which Mr. " *Bilgar* made his *Phoſphorus.*

He had ſcarce made an end when another Perſon of Diſtinction roſe up with a Letter in his Hand ſent him by a Friend from beyond Sea. " I am happy, *ſays he,* " moſt noble Audience, that I have this " Minute receiv'd a Letter dated, *March* " 30. 1708. which will ſtrengthen the O- " pinions of the worthy Perſons that ſpoke " before, will clear up the Credit of this " *Lady*, and ſhew the Power which the " *Effluvias* of *Seignior Valentio* may have " in the Generation of this pretty Infant.

The Words of the Letter are theſe: *From hence it is eaſie to conclude that if nine or ten* Atmoſpheres *of Air were condenſed in the ſpace of* One, *and to remain in that State for a Year or two. That when the Veſſel that contains them ſhall become expoſed open to the Air, ſuch as very thin* Ph. Tranſ. N°. 318. p. 218.

Glaſs

Glaſs Bubbles (ſuppoſing them not to be above five or ſix times ſpecifically heavier than their like Bulk of common Air) would float on ſuch a Medium which would be very ſurprizing to ſee a Body ſupported by an inviſible Agent. But I am not ſure of this, for I cannot tell but it may be a means to render Air viſible. From whence ſome Diſcoveries may be made, which otherwiſe may be impoſſible to know. But let it happen how it will (for Nature will have her own Ways) I doubt not but ſeveral uſeful Inferences may be made from ſuch an Experiment.

From whence I argue, that if nine or ten *Atmoſpheres* condenſed will raiſe Things like Glaſs Bubbles, if theſe will float on a ſurprizing Medium, and be ſupported by an inviſible Agent: And if Nature in all this will have her own Courſe, that then it may be concluded, that if nine or ten blew Beans were put into a blew Bladder to remain in that State for a Year or two; and the Bladder containing them were every Minute ſhook with a Repetition of theſe Words. *Ten blew Beans in a Blew Bladder, rattle Blew Beans, rattle Blew Bladder, rattle Beans, rattle Bladder, rattle.* That by this means *Sounds* might become viſible, and that they would be of a blew Colour; therefore if all theſe ſurprizing Inſtances are true

in

in Nature, why may not *Seignior Valentio*, who is more than an inviſible Agent, nay, more viſible than Air it ſelf, who has a Coat of a blewiſh Colour, and Voice more harmonious than the rattling of any Beans whatſoever, be Father of this Child, when there are ſuch pregnant Inſtances for it throughout all the Principles of Philoſophy?

When he had ſpoke and was ſet down, there was an univerſal Silence amongſt all the Audience, each gazing upon the *Mother*, her *Son*, and *Valentio*; who with all rational Probability would ſoon be declared a Father.

Some were ſtruck with Admiration at the Force of the Argument, others at the Beauty of the Expreſſion, but moſt at the Sagacity of the Perſons who had made ſuch uſeful Experiments. The Juſtice was extremely diſcompoſed; the Church-Wardens were as much ſatisfied, when on a ſudden a Gentlewoman appeared in a decent Habit, with a Motherly ſort of an Aſpect, and preſſing forward, deſired ſhe might be heard in this Matter, as believing ſhe could by one particular Inſtance anſwer all the Arguments juſt now propoſed by the *Curioſi*.

Says ſhe, *Moſt noble Sirs*, "I am a Wi-
"dow of ſome Reputation in the Ward I
"live in, for the good Offices I do upon
"many

" many Occaſions. I have a Daughter
" not yet twenty Years of Age, not un-
" handſome neither (if I may ſo ſay it,
" tho' not unlike her Mother) ſhe has
" been twice a Widow, Heavens help her,
" her firſt Huſband was a Seaman; but
" he being gone, and my Daughter and I
" being lonely Women, we did not know
" but he was as good as dead. There
" came a Perſon who made Addreſſes to
" my Daughter, tho' I gave him Encourage-
" ment as to my ſelf: To be ſhort, with
" much Application, I gave them leave to
" come together. The *Sack-Poſſet* was ea-
" ten and the *Stocking* thrown: Well, let
" me tell you, the *Thing* that went to
" Bed with my Daughter was as like a
" Man as ever you ſaw any Thing in the
" verſal World. He kiſs'd like any Chri-
" ſtian, and ſung like an Angel. They
" had not paſſed half a quarter of an hour,
" when out of the Chamber runs poor
" *Molley* all in Tears, poor Soul. Lord
" Mother! what have we got here? Sure
" 'tis ſome Spirit? Well, we were forced
" to ſtay till Morning, and by Diſcourſe
" with my Neighbours I found that my
" Daughter had gone to Bed with *Seignior*
" *Gioſeppe*, one that it ſeems came over to
" ſing in the Opera.

" Now from mine and my Daughter's
" Misfortune let other Perſons take heed,

" and

" and especially, you Mr. Justice in pro-
" nouncing your Sentence; for my Daugh-
" ter and I are both ready upon our Cor-
" poral Oaths to swear, that *Seignior Va-*
" *lentio*, being an *Eunuch*, could not get
" that Child, and she is a base Woman
" that lays it to him. I know my Daugh-
" ter, poor Babe, has too much of my
" Blood in her to've run crying out of
" Bed, if any *Eunuch* in Christendom had
" been able to get her with Child.

The young Gentlewoman was by, and looking down made a Curtsey in Testimony of her Mother's Affirmation.

This gave a new Turn to the whole Affair, all were willing to believe the Ladies; nor did the Justice any longer delay to give his Opinion, tho' to please the Church-Wardens, he made some Hesitation, as that *Seignior Valentio* appeared as much a Man as other People. Whereupon to obviate that Objection, steps out a Person, and desired he might tell him a Fable, and such a one as would shew there is, no Trust to Appearances.

" Sam Wills *had view'd* Kate Bets, *a smi-*
ling Lass.
" *And for her pretty Mouth admir'd her*
Face.
" Kate *had lik'd* Sam, *for Nose of* Roman
Size,
" *Not minding his Complexion or his Eyes.*

" *They*

" *They met* —— *says* Sam, *alas to say the Truth*
" *I find my self deceiv'd by that small Mouth!*
" *Alas cries* Kate, *cou'd any one suppose,*
" *I cou'd be so deceiv'd by such a Nose!*
" *But I henceforth shall hold this Maxim Just,*
" *To have Experience first and then to trust.*

During this Amusement, the Woman thought fit to march off with her Child, and *Seignior Valentio* did not think it worth his while to stay any longer in the Justification of his Manhood.

THE

THE TONGUE.

New Additions to Mr. Anthony Van Leeuwenhoeck's *Microscopical Observations upon the Tongue, and the White Matter on the Tongues of Feverish Persons.*

In which are shew'd the several Particles proper for Pratling, Tatling, Pleading, Haranguing, Lying, Flattering, Scolding, *and other such like occasions. Communicated by Dr.* Testy.

HAving lately seen Mr. *Leeuwenhoeck's* Observations upon the Tongues of Feverish Persons, and finding them very curious, *and that he had taken care to have two Fevers, the former more violent than the latter.* I was ambitious likewise to make some Experiments, tho' not being willing to venture my own Person, I desired of a Wine Porter in the Neighbourhood, that when he should find it requisite

Transf. N°. 318. p. 210.

ſite to drink more than uſual, that he would take a Pint or two of Brandy extraordinary, and to come to me the next Morning without hawking or ſpitting, and as thirſty as he could poſſibly; and accordingly, not failing, he ſhould have a ſuitable Reward.

The next Morning he came, and being deſir'd to gape, which he could ſcarce do, I found his Lips almoſt glewd up with a very black Subſtance, which being ſepa-
Ibid. rated, *I found his Tongue covered with a thick whitiſh Matter.* Having no *Pen-Knife* nor *Silver Tongue-Scraper by me*, I call'd for a large Caſe-Knife, with which I made my Butler gather firſt the Black Matter off of his Lips, and then the White Furr from his Tongue. My Man would have
Ibid. put each of them into *clean China Coffee-Diſhes*, but I bid him fetch two new white earthen Chamber-pots, and then ordering the Porter two full Pots of Drink, I diſmiſs'd him, to haſten to the Contemplation of what I had before me.

I bad my Man pour boiling Rain-water into both the Veſſels, *to the Intent that the Viſcous or Slimy Matter, which did as it were glew the Particles together, might thereby be ſeparated, that he might the better obſerve them.* He told me, that he ſaw divers Particles, that had the Figure
Ibid. of *Pears*, Apples, Plumbs and Oranges;

but

but that none of them had any part that answered to a Stalk. All this I more readily believ'd, because I knew his Wife to be a Fruiterer: But whether this *Phænomenon* may not be inlarg'd is a Question, for I believe they may be agreeable to the several Professions. Mr. *Leeuwenhoeck believed his little small Particles to be little Scales of the outward Skin of the Tongue.* And these in all probability would be much harden'd and encreased in a Fish-Wife, who has great necessity for the Preservation of so important a Member, especially at *Billingsgate.* Monsieur *Leeuwenhoeck in his Matter found an unspeakable number of small roundish Particles about the same bigness as the Globules of the Blood, which cause Redness. Now tho' they were not of a reddish Colour, yet he imagin'd them to be small divided Blood Particles.* I ask'd my Man if he saw any such Particles, he said he saw little white Things. I told him, *they were the Globules of the Blood that caused Redness,* but I could not convince his Unphilosophical Ignorance, how such *Red* and *Bloody* Globules should constitute a white Substance. I ask'd him *if he saw an unspeakable Number of long Particles agreeing in length with the Hair of a Man's Beard, that had not been shaved in eight or ten Days.*

Ibid.

p. 212.

p. 211.

p. 212.

He looking off from his Microscope very saucily cry'd, "how can I tell that "Sir? Don't some Men's Beards grow fa- "ster than other-some? I ask'd him if the Particles were bright, he said yes? And that several were very like a bright Flame. These I took to be such as Mr. *Leeuwenhoeck* observed, *altho' he did not take the least Physick, or indeed any thing else but a little Caudle, or a little Veal Broath with some Bread in it.* I may attribute the shining of the Particles in my present Instance to another Cause; for my Wine-Porter from his first Attempt of a Fever, till the quenching of his Thirst, took no other Sustenance excepting burnt Brandy. Therefore in this Matter I must disagree with Monsieur *Leeuwenhoeck*, *that this white Matter is protruded out of the Tongue, and no Evaporation or Coagulation from the Intrails.* For there seems to me in this Case, that the Particles of Fire were forced down by the great Quantity of Liquid Particles of the Brandy to the lowermost parts of the Intrails, and there working by the way of Coction, caused an Ebullition, which naturally arises with a white Substance, as in the Scum of boil'd Beef and Bag-Pudding, Arti-Choaks, Calve's Heads, and Legs of Mutton.

Ibid.

p. 213.

Mr.

Mr. *Leeuwenhoeck did discover an unconceivable Number of exceeding small Animalcula, and those of different sorts, but the greatest Number of them were of one and the same Size; and that most of these Animalcula randezvouz'd in that part of the Water where the said Matter of his Tongue lay.* This seems to me to let one into a noble *Phænomenon* of Nature; for I inquir'd of my Man if he did not think he saw that the Particles of the White Matter were like Eggs, he told me yes, and that he saw innumerable Serpents, Kites, Ravens, Ostriches, Crocadils, and such like sort of Creatures coming out of 'em. From whence I raised this Philosophical Reason, why drunken Men are so Quarelsome; for as I said before, the Hot Liquor throwing up an *Evaporation or Coagulation from the Intrails:* Raises up likewise an inconceivable Number of these little Eggs; which being quickly hatch'd there, as in an *Egyptian* Oven, put the Patient to an extreme Torment, so that it is no wonder if Persons so tormented by these Animalcula, throw 'em out at random, without any Fear, Wit, or serious Consideration, oftentimes in very opprobrious Language. p. 214. p. 213.

Mr. *Leeuwenhoeck* could do no greater Service to the World, than to study the Figure, Quantity and Quality of these Ani-

malcula *randezvouzing* upon the Tongues of all sorts of Persons in their several Circumstances; for I doubt not but they would shew the true Reason of the Formation of all Languages, and that they would be like the Creatures that most abound in their respective Countries.

Ph. Trans. N°. 315. p. 111.

After I had satisfied my self concerning that Matter which is found upon the Tongue, and which we call the Thrush, I let my Thoughts wander a little farther upon the Consideration of the Tongue it self, in order, if it were possible, that I might discover the Pores by which that Matter is imbibed, which is afterwards protruded out of the Tongue; for I take it, that by a due Observation of the Quality of the Particles, of which the Tongue is composed, we may give an Account of the several *Phænomena* of the Voice and Speech that is produced by it.

I am not insensible that an Articulate Voice when distinct is produced by five Organs, according to the Verse.

Guttur lingua Palatum dentes & duo labra.

To sound true Words, the Throat and Tongue must go,
The Palate, Teeth, and the two Lips also.

There

There may be very noble Obſervations made concerning each of theſe ſeveral Organs. The Hebrew and Oriental Languages ſound much from the Throat, which ſhow that they came more immediately from the Heart; and as that is the Seat of Life, ſo their Sound is Commanding and Majeſtick. Not much different from them in that Reſpect are the Gothick and Saxon, and the moſt Ancient Britiſh, which our Anceſtors uſed, whilſt Honour, Truth and Juſtice flouriſh'd in theſe Parts.

Of the Tongue I ſhall ſpeak ſomething more largely immediately. And for the other four Organs I deſign particular Diſſertations concerning 'em. The Palate or Roof of the Mouth oftentimes by great Colds will ſwell and fall down to a very great Bigneſs, and obſtruct the Voice. To help this, good Old Women, pitying the Caſe of ſuch as ſhould be any ways hinder'd from ſpeaking, by the help of *Album Grecum* and *Honey*, with their Thumb replace the Glands by a gentle Attrition into their due Poſitions. The Failure of this Palate is often occaſion'd by *Love* in ſuch Perſons who have felt more than one of *Cytherea*'s Flames, then the Voice is not altogether ſo ſonorous and pleaſing as it was; but thoſe Perſons generally make uſe of a ſixth Organ the *Noſe*, tho'

oftentimes, the Bridge of that failing, they make use of a seventh Organ which is the Nostril.

The Teeth are very necessary Instruments, and contribute much to the Temper and good humour of Speech; For we find by aged Persons who become Edentulous or Toothless, that their Lips falling in, and their Jaws being something protruded, they come to a certain *Chinese* Position of Face, and to a Language scarce to be understood, which if it is, generally proves peevish.

The Lips are useful for Kissing, as well as Speaking: Of these I design a particular Account when I give an Abstract of the Learned *Kempius*'s Treatise *De Osculo*, or of Kissing; and his particular Dissertation, *De Osculo Judæ*, or the Kiss of *Judas*.

I communicated my Thoughts about the Tongue to the Ingenious Mr. *Trencher*, who advised me *to take four distinct Tongues*, one of a *Cow*, another of an *Ox*, a third of a *Hog*, and a fourth of a *Sheep*. He order'd me to Boil the first, and place near to it an adjacent Udder upon a Bed of Spinage, mollified with a sufficient Quantity of fresh Butter. The Ox's Tongue he thought proper to Roast, saying the Particles would appear better after a torrefying Evaporation. But he

p. 111. Ibid.

said

ſaid Veniſon Sauce would not be improper to explicate the ſeveral Diſcoveries he reſolv'd to make. He told me that the Hog's and Sheep's Tongues might be got dry'd in moſt pav'd Allies. I invited him to come the next Day about Noon, and that all Things ſhould be ready, and my Microſcopes in order.

He came according to his Promiſe, and the Boil'd Tongue, Udder and Butter'd Spinage were plac'd upon the Table as preſcrib'd, *I ſet my ſelf to examine the Skins of the ſame, and particularly the External Particles, that are upon the Thickneſs of the Tongue: And where, as I conceive, is the Place that admits the Juices into the Tongue, by which that Senſation is produced, which we call the Taſte* —— *I ſeparated thoſe aforeſaid external Particles as well as I could, from thoſe that lay under them, and obſerv'd that the latter, that is to ſay, the Internal were furniſh'd with a very great Number of pointed Particles, the Tops of which for the moſt part were broken off, and remained ſticking in the outmoſt Skin. When I plac'd one of thoſe internal Particles of the Tongue before a Microſcope, it appear'd to me to be as 'twere a tranſparent Body, ſomething larger then a Thimble,* as appears in the Cut G. N°. 1. 2. I told my Friend each moment what occurr'd to me; but he was Ibid.

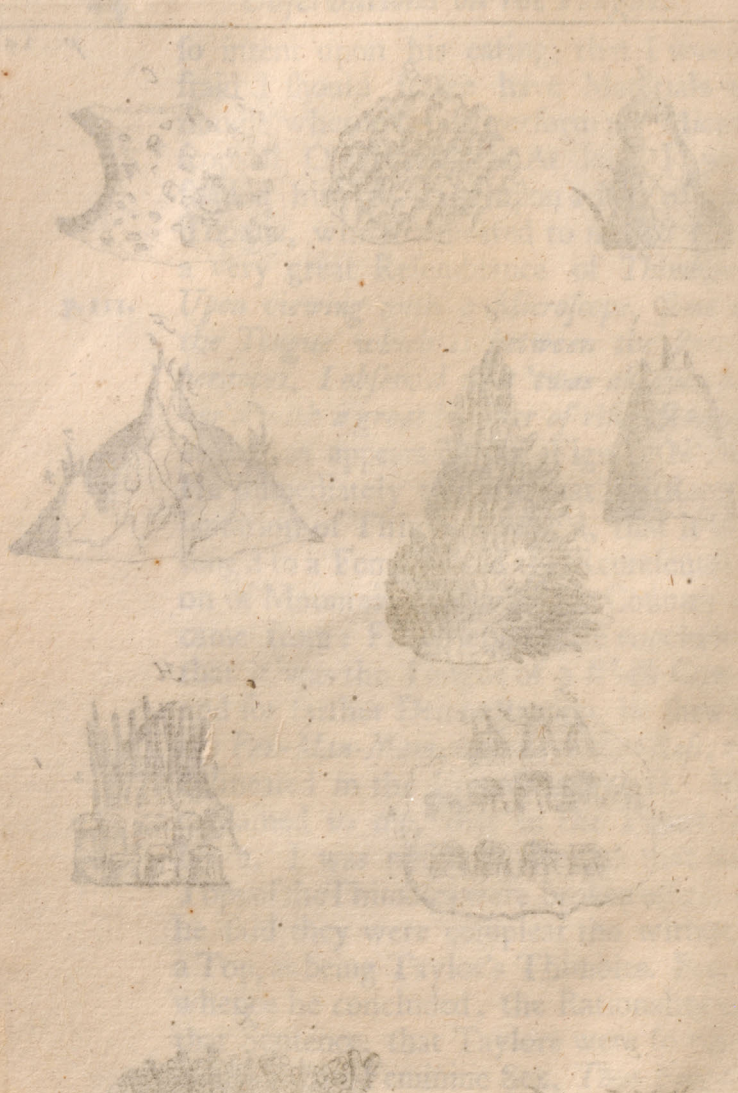
ſo intent upon his eating, that I was afraid I ſhould ſcarce have Materials enough wherewith to perform my Microſcopical Obſervations. At laſt, I perſuaded him to look upon a Part of the Tongue, which appeared to me to have a very great Reſemblance of *Thimbles:*
p. 111. *Upon viewing with a Microſcope, ſome of the Tongue which is between the Protuberances, I obſerv'd that 'twas all over cover'd with a great Number of riſing Roundneſſes,* as appears by the Figure, N°. *B.* He immediately told me that the Repreſentation of Thimbles ſhew'd, that it belong'd to a Female, and the Repreſentation of Mountains, ſhew'd the Country it came from: From whence he concluded that it was the Tongue of a *Welſh* Cow; and for farther Demonſtration, he ſhew'd me *Pen-Man-Maur*, and *Pen-Man-Roſs*, as delineated in the Figures *A.* and *D.* He explained to me, that in the Figure *G.* N°. 2. I was miſtaken to think that the Tops of the Thimbles were broken off: For he ſaid they were compleat tho without a Top, as being Taylor's Thimbles. From whence he concluded, the Rationality of that Sentence, that Taylors were ſo congenial to the Feminine Sex, *That Nine of them muſt go to the Compoſition of One Man.* Now, ſays my Friend, if you pleaſe to take this little piece of Tongue and

view

p. 24.



Figures of Parts of y^e Tongue taken from the plate before
Philosophical Transactions N^o 375



view it with the Microſcope *you'll find ſeveral long Particles in it.* In the mean time I will cut my ſelf another piece, and demonſtrate to you how I reliſh or taſte it.

You ſee I ſuppoſe the aforemention'd long Particles, as in Figure Letter H. *Now when I preſs my Tongue againſt the Roof of my Mouth in order to taſte any Thing, theſe long Particles, as numerous as the Graſs in the Field, the Ends of which are exceeding ſlender, preſs thro' the uppermoſt Skin, which at that Place is very thin; or to ſpeak more properly, is indu'd with ſmall Pores or Holes, and ſo receives a little Juice; from all which proceeds ſuch a ſort of Senſation which we call Taſte.* p. 113. When theſe Particles are ſharp and meet with other ſharp Particles in the Thing that is chew'd, they produce a Poignancy or Pungency, as in eating of *Sorrel* and *Tongue-Graſs:* Muſtard-Seed originally is Globular, and would conſequently roll over theſe Graſſey Particles of the Tongue, as a *Bowling-Green:* But being contus'd in a Bowl by an Iron Ball, it aſſumes a ſharp pointed Figure, and conſequently has that Poignancy or Pungency which has occaſion'd the Epithet given it by Mr. *Robinſon* in his learned Treatiſe, call'd *Quæ Genus*, of *Scelerata Sinapis*, or as *Horace* in his Art of Cookery expreſſes it, *The Roguiſh Muſtard*

ſtard dangerous to the Noſe, which explains the *Phænomenon*, that as the Noſe is a ſuppletory Organ to the Speech, ſo it is likewiſe to the Taſte.

When the Particles are more obtuſe and round, there is a ſort of Glibneſs in the Taſte, not without a Pleaſantneſs in the Deglution as in *Sack-Poſſet*, *Quaking-Pudding*, *Oatmeal-Caudle*, or the like.

As my Servant was bringing in the Roaſted Tongue I read to him this Paſſage out of Mr. *Leeuwenhoeck.*

Ibid. *Sometime ago a certain Gentleman related, as a very wonderful Thing, that the Oxen or Cows had their Tongues armed with very ſharp Particles. But I told him they muſt neceſſarily be ſo, becauſe thoſe Beaſts had no Teeth in the upper Mouth or Jaw; and therefore were forc'd to preſs the Graſs with their Tongues againſt the Roofs of their Mouths, in order to break it to pieces.*

My Friend with a very ſmall Interruption of his Eating, told me, he could not agree with Mr. *Leeuwenhoeck* in that Poſition, that Oxen and Cowes had no Teeth in their upper Mouth or Jaw; for he aſſur'd me, he had often ſeen them without a Microſcope as lodging with a Gentlewoman that bakes them Nightly. He own'd that Oxen had their Tongues armed with very ſharp Particles; and thereupon

upon gave me a ſmall bit of the Ox's Roaſt Tongue before him to view with my Microſcope, which appear'd to me in the Shape of the Figure deſcrib'd under the Letter *E.* I complain'd to him, that the Particles were not ſharp: He anſwer'd, it was true, and that the Subſiding of their Points was occaſion'd in their Torrefaction by Deſuction of the Globular Particles of the Butter, with which it had been baſted, which made it more Luſcious to the Palate. To confirm this, he ſhew'd me a ſurprizing Inſtance. He cut a very large piece of the Tongue, and involving it in the Veniſon Sauce, which is compoſed of ſweet Ingredients. And cutting off a very ſmall Particle for me to view with my Microſcope, I found that the Vertue of that Sauce had made all thoſe pointed Particles to ſubſide; leaving only ſome Veſtiges or Traces of the ſame in the Middle, as in Letter *F.* and three pointed and aſpiring Pyramids, as Numb. 2, 3, 4. There being ſome pointed Particles, as Number 5, 6, and 7. ſtill remaining, which notwithſtanding the Suavity of the Sauce they may give a Pungency to the Reliſh.

I had cauſed a Hog-Butcher to bring me at ſeveral Times divers Tongues of Hogs; and according to my Friend's Advice laid one dry'd before him, who immediately p. 114.

cut-

cutting off the outward Skin with all its *Protuberant Particles*, He gave me a bit of the ſaid Skin to contemplate with my Microſcope. He was going to eat a piece of the Tongne with ſome Muſtard, when very ſurprizingly and earneſtly he call'd for ſome Loaf-Sugar, which he ſcrap'd into it. Now, Sir, ſays he, if you'll look a little cloſe, you will ſee the abſolute Neceſſity of ſome mollifying, dulcifying, and ſmoothing Body, otherwiſe the ſharp pointed Particles of the Hog's Tongue, together with the Saline Particles, and the Fumous or Smoaky Particles, which it contracted or acquired in its drying, joyn'd to the Hamate and Poignant Particles of the Muſtard, would too ſharply pierce the Tongue, ſo that a Perſon might as well eat a thouſand of Pins or Needles in their Proportion, as a very little bit of a Hog's Tongue, unleſs as I ſaid before it were mollified, dulcified or ſmooth'd with Sugar. Then I looking
p. 115. intently thro' my Microſcope, *with great Wonder diſcovered a mighty Number of very ſlender long Particles, which always run into a ſharp Point at the End, juſt as Needles do appear to the naked Eye.* Much in the Nature of thoſe deſcrib'd in Fig. *H.* N°. 1. 2. only thoſe being of an Ox's Tongue appear'd like Pack-Needles, and theſe of the Hog like Needles fit for a Nun's

Nun's working of *Point of Venice.* My Friend scrap'd a few minute Particles of Loaf-Sugar, upon a dimunitive bit of the Hog's Tongue. I saw them immediately subside, and bend as in Figure *I. whose* p. 122. *inward Parts, as it were shrunk inwards. My Friend gave me several thin Slices cut from the Tongue. The* Phænomena *or* p. 121. *Appearances, whereof were always various, yea, so much that I was quite astonished at* p. 122. *it; and if I could but represent them to any other Bodies Eyes in the same manner as I saw them my self, they would cry out,* WHAT WONDERS ARE THESE.

From this wonderful Variety of the *Phænomena* I cannot fix any certain Conclusions, only this: That it seems that the Tongues of Hogs being composed of such sharp Particles, and the Voice of the Hog being partly fram'd by the Tongue. There is a sharp harsh or unpleasing Sound which proceeds from that Animal, which is call'd in a moderate Expression, Grumbling or Growling, but more properly and Philosophically after an Onomatopoietical Formation, it is called *Grunting*; from the Latine, *Grunio*, or *Grundio*, to Grunt like a Swine; which Sound sufficiently denotes the Nature of the Beast. These sharp Particles of the Tongue pressing upon the Palate of the Hog, (*upon which I have often stroak'd my Fingers upwards* p. 116.

upwards and downwards, but could perceive no more Roughness than if I had been feeling a piece of Velvet) pierce the Palate so as to wound it in many Places, of which you have an Instance in the Figure *C.* representing a very minute bit of a Hog's Palate wounded after a most barbarous manner. This makes it very painful and uneasie for that Creature to express it self, and so different from a *Swan* in its dying Agonies: Since there is nothing more harmonious than the last Accents of the former, but of the latter nothing more Disagreeable.

These long Acicular sharp Particles *are*
p. 121. *not all of them round, but each of them assumes such a Figure as suits best to the others to which 'tis join'd, and so as to leave no Space nor Vacuity between them, insomuch that I have seen some of them that were in a manner of a Triangular Figure.* Hereupon I made a very curious and useful Observation, being resolved to know how many of these long fleshy Particles, or rather fleshy Muscles might be contain'd in an Inch, I consider'd that the Diameter of one of these little Muscles of
p. 120. Flesh *does not exceed two Hairs breadth of ones Head, and when we compute that six hundred Breadths of a Hair does not*
p. 121. *exceed the Diameter of one Inch; it follows, that three hundred Diameters of these small*

ſmall Muſcles is but equal to the Diameter of one Inch, and conſequently then, that ninety thouſand of the ſaid ſmall Muſcles of Fleſh make no more than the Thickneſs of one Inch. This ſhows what a voracious Creature Mankind is; who in a ſmall piece of Tongue of no more than the thickneſs of one Inch, can chaw and ſwallow Muſcles of Fleſh which computed by the Diameter of the Hair of one's Head amount to and equal a hundred and eighty thouſand hairy Diameters, which is a Sum prodigious. But more exact Calculations of this, and many other Things ſhall be fully demonſtrated in a large Treatiſe I intend concerning the Proportion of a *Hair's Breadth*, to a *Cow's Thumb*.

My Friend told me, that his Buſineſs would not ſuffer him to ſtay very much longer, yet ſtill he was deſirous that he might Taſte, or I might inſpect into a ſlice or two of the Sheep's Tongue, which I had prepar'd for him. It was very ſtrange to ſee the Difference of this Specifick Creature's Tongue, from that of the Hog's before-mention'd. The very Figure of it is as ſmooth as the Sound it pronounces, which we call Bleating from the Greek βληχάομαι, which nevertheleſs in my Opinion is more properly expreſs'd by the Latin Word, *Balo*, *Ba* being the only Sound that Sheep, which I have had the

Opportunity of knowing, ever make, tho' perhaps in ſeveral Tones, or Notes according to their Sex, Age or Station. That which I can neareſt repreſent it to, is a ſmooth bright ſhining Strand newly left dry by the Ebb, in which there ſtill remain many Gulls of Water flowing down gently, as appears in the whole Figure *K.* and this Philoſophically explains what ſeem'd before to be only Metaphors, when we mention Torrents, Floods and Streams of Eloquence, ſince they are all naturally inherent in the Tongue, though they have been improv'd by *Ariſtotle* and *Tully* in their Treatiſes of Rhetorick and Oratory.

I then told my Friend, that by theſe Speculations we might eaſily ſee the ſeveral Uſes theſe various Particles might be put to in the ſeveral Occurrences of Man's Life. I ſhow'd him how the long acute Particles of the Tongue, as deſcrib'd N°. *H.* were proper for Scolding, Snarling, Criticiſing, Slandering and Backbiting. That the Particles, N°. *I.* had in themſelves much of the Nature of the former, and carry'd with them an equal Poignancy, but could make their Sharpneſs bend it ſelf and comply as Occaſion might offer, ſo as to produce the Effects of Lying. The Figure *E.* ſets forth the Shape of an Eternal Pratler or *Tatler*, who has

a Multitude of these Particles, whose Sharpness is render'd obtuse or blunt by the perpetual Use that is made of them. The Figure *G.* by the Multitude of its *Thimbles*, N°. 3. shows its self to be Feminine, and the first pointed Hillock, N°. 4. denotes Maundering; the second Protuberance, N°. 5. imports scolding; and the third, N°. 6. being forked demonstrates Cuckoldom, which is likewise denoted by the bottom of the Figure *A.* tho' there the forked Particles seem more conceal'd, as being perhaps likely to be received with greater Contentment, the Coronet at the top denoting Riches and Preferment to be gain'd by it.

The Figure represented by the Letter *F*, shows the true Nature of Pleading and Haranguing, the Streams of Eloquence flowing from the Root in several Rivulets, N°. 1. but terminating still in a Poignancy or Pungency, which is not ungrateful, but rather tickles than offends the Ears of the Audience, after a various manner, as in N°. 2. and 4. which are what are vulgarly called *Wipes* or *Girds*, and N°. 3. which is extreme *Satyr*. When these little Sharpnesses are wholly remov'd, then it comes to the Smoothness, which appears in the Figure Letter *K.* and is proper for Flattering, whence all Things flow so easily, that the Current is not to be resisted. I was

purſuing my Notions when my Friend being Thirſty with eating his dry'd Tongues, call'd firſt for a Tankard of ſtrong Ale, then for a Bumper of Claret, and then taking up the Root of the Hog's Tongue which was almoſt the only thing he had left of all four of 'em: He told
p. 122. me, *that he had often thought our Taſte proceeds alone from the Tongue; but within theſe few Days he was of another Opinion; for when he view'd that part of the Roof of the Mouth, oppoſite to the top of the Throat, where the notch'd or jagged parts of the Hog's Tongue are determin'd, he judged that that was the Place from whence the Head did partly diſcharge its ſelf, and*
p. 123. *the Matter to be caſt out which comes into the Mouth, without its proceeding from the Lungs, as alſo that there are a great many Parts in it which receive the Matter which he calls the Taſte.* Then taking another Glaſs of Claret, he deſir'd that within two or three Days I would get him a Hog's Head powder'd, roaſted whole, I deſir'd it might be on *Wedneſday*, for I was impatient, and that he having left me at preſent in ſuch Uncertainties, in the mean time I ſhould continue *Taſteleſs.*

MI-

MIGRATION OF CUCKOO's.

A Letter concerning the Migration of Cuckoo's, *with their Deſtruction of Eggs. And general Remarks concerning Birds-Neſts, with the Speech of Birds. Communicated by Mr.* Martin Cheapum. *M.A. F. U. S.*

SIR,

I Have often conſider'd, that it would be neceſſary for a Uſeful *Society* as we are, to contemplate well the *Migration*; that is, the coming *hither* to a Place that we do know: And the going *thither* to a Place that we do not know, of that celebrated Bird the *Cuckoo*. For I conceive, that the Knowledge of the Place of his Habitation in *Winter* may *conduce to the* Ph Trans. N°. 315. p. 123.

Discovery of a very pretty Phænomenon.

The Bird has Prudence indeed, and acts according to the Way of the World. To stay in the Climate where he was well receiv'd during the Continuation of Prosperity; and then to leave his Benefactors amidst the Chilness and Storms of Fortune, till such times as he believes they have a fresh Supply for him to spoil them of.

Ibid. *The Business I would humbly recommend is, that the Members of the* Useful *Society all over the Realm, would themselves, or procure their inquisitive Friends, to observe and note down the very Day they first see or hear of the Approach of that Migratory Bird the* Cuckoo.

To promote this the more Effectually, in my Judgment, it might not be improper for the Secretaries of our Society to send circular Letters to all School-masters, School-mistresses, and to all Persons bearing a Rule and Authority over Youth, that they give full Liberty and Leave to them to go a Bird's-nesting as often as the said Youth may think convenient: For, by this Means they may arrive at greater Knowledge and Preferment, than by always poring on their Books. *The several Observations which they make ought to be communicated to the Society.*

Ibid.

I would

I would have these Lads enjoyn'd to take notice what Day, what Hour, *how the Wind sat* when they found any Birds-Nests, whose Eggs had been suck'd. For 'tis my Opinion the *Cuckoo* migrates hither long before we generally hear it. And knowing his Voice not to be of the clearest or most pleasant, continues for sometime the sucking of raw Eggs, with an intent to clear it. Ibid.

They should likewise observe what Nests it chuses to borrow to lay its Egg in; from whence we might probably make a good Guess at the Commodities of the Country it comes from, *whether fromward the East, or any other Point.* Ibid.

Here is a noble Field of Contemplation for Lads to ramble in. To consider why *Jackdaws* and *Magpies* differ in the Structure of their Habitations from *Tomtits* and *Screech-Owles.* Why some Birds are brought to Bed in Wooll, some in Hair, the *Martins* in Dirt, the *Sparrows* in Thatch, and the *Rooks* on the tops of Trees in Brush-Faggots.

There is one thing which I am sorry I have forgot, *till the Iynx or Wryneck just now come*, has brought it to my Thoughts. *This I take undoubtedly to be a Bird of Passage: The Wind has stood* SOUTHERLY *to Day*, WESTERLY *yesterday*, EASTERLY the preceding Day, and the Day before Ibid.

fore that NORTHERLY. So that we may be certain if he came to Day, 'twas from the *South*; if Yesterday, from the *West*; if on *Tuesday* from the *East*; but if on *Monday*, from the *North*. Thus by fixing the Time of the Bird's coming, together with the Change of the Weather-Cock, and the blowing of the Wind, we may arrive to that Knowledge of Migration of Birds, which will amount to little less than a Demonstration.

p. 124. *But for a further Sample, I shall annex my Observations last Year. The* Swallow *came* March *the* 31st. *making a great Outcry at his Approach, as if he saw something strange.* I was then walking in my Garden in my new Silk Night-Gown, and a Velvet-Cap. At first I thought he might be surpriz'd at seeing me in that Habit, as having left me in a Souff one last Year. But upon farther list'ning to him, (being vers'd as I shall hereafter acquaint you in the Language of Birds) the first Word he spoke distinctly was *Summer, Summer.* I smil'd to my self, and said, *We Old Ones ar'nt to be caught with Chaff. Summer* is a good thing indeed, but if you'd have me believe that you brought it, you shou'd'nt come singly.

Immediately after in great Consternation, he cry'd *Smoak, Smoak,* in my old Lady *Sparewell*'s Kitchen Chimney, where

he had ſeveral Years laſt paſt taken up his Summer's Reſidence.

The Sight was indeed, not only to the poor Bird, but likewiſe to my ſelf, unuſual. For it was but the Night before I had buried the Lady, and her Grandſon, Jolly Sir *John* was that Day got in Poſſeſſion of her Jointure.

April the 1ſt, 1708. The *Iynx firſt yelped here*, being a Day remarkable for ſeveral wiſe Paſſages. p. 123.

April the 2d. The *Certhia* or *Creeper* crept here. p. 124.

April the 4th. I eſpy'd the *Ruticilla* or *Redſtart* bluſhing here. Ibid.

April the 5th. I ſaw the *Martin* and welcom'd him as my Nameſake. Ibid.

April the 6th. The *Nightingale firſt ſang with us.* But ſhe ſang the Day before at a Ladys in the next Pariſh, at a Viſit ſhe made there. Ibid.

April the 7th. The *Cuckoo I was told was heard* by *Thomas Tatler*; but he being a Perſon not of the brighteſt Reputation, I could ſcarce believe it, till he had made a voluntary Affirmation of it before the Juſtice. Ibid.

April the 8th. I continued from before Day break, till it was dark in our home Field waiting its coming, but without Succeſs.

Ibid. *Upon the* 9th *of* April *I heard it my self with great Joy*, and immediately (being now a Widower) I pluck'd off my Shooe to see what colour'd Hair my next Wife would have, and found two Red ones, which gave me great Satisfaction, according to an Antient Receipt approved by many Experiments.

April the 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, *16th.* I spent each Day in doing the same thing, that is, harkning to the *Cuckoo.*

Ibid. *April* the 17th. *I heard the* SWIFT *or* BLACK MARTIN *squeek in a hole at my House, in which it has quietly built for several Years:* Tho' I never requir'd any thing for his Lodging. His Voice told me, that he was something indispos'd by his Journey. That he hop'd Rest might do

Ibid. him good. *So it being cold Weather, he did not fly Abroad till some Days after:* When the *Swallow* and *Martin* receiv'd him with a Regard due to so near a Relation.

I don't know that I spent a Month more to my Satisfaction than this upon the Reception of these my *Migratory* Acquaintance.

I know this Matter may seem New to some. But Mr. *Randolph*, a noted Author (whose Plays and Poems now bear the Fifth Edition, in his *Amintas* or *Impossible Dowry*, p. 206. tells us, that *Cuckoo's* do presage Constancy, and then introduces

troduces *Mopſus*, a learned Augur with his Miſtreſs *Theſtylis*, and his Brother *Jocaſtus*. Where he enumerates the ſeveral Dialects that the Birds uſe in their Language.

Theſtylis. Mopſus, where have you been all this live long hour?

Mop. I have been diſcourſing with the Birds.

Theſt. Why, can the Birds ſpeak?

Jocaſt. In Fairy Land they can. I have heard them chirp very good *Greek* and *Latin*.

Mop. And our Birds talk far better than they. A new-laid Egg of *Sicily* ſhall outtalk the braveſt *Parot* in *Oberon*'s *Utopia*.

Theſt. But what Language do they ſpeak, Servant?

Mop. Several Languages, as *Cawation, Chirpation, Hootation, Whiſtleation, Crowation, Cacklebation, Shreekation, Hiſſation.*

Theſt. And Foolation?

Mop. No— that's our Language, we our ſelves ſpeak that, that are the learned Augurs.

The ingenious Mr. *D'Urfey* was ſenſible of all this, and therefore to divert the Town, has in his Play, call'd, *The Wonders of the Sun* introduc'd the *Kingdom of the Birds*, with all their *Croaking, Chattering, and Whiſpering Language.*

It is a piece I may venture to say, that excels any of his preceding Performances: A Subject so elevated; a Consistency of so various Impossibilities; Such a multitude of Characters or Episodes conducing to one single Design; to which they seem not to have the least Coherence: The Language of the whole, and particularly the Eloquence of the *Vice Roy* in the Sun, who stutters Gybberish of the Author's own Composing.

Keelin, Seelin, Dalley mazzow, gollin bellin kendilango.
Garzzockta blowzin minger bounce, Pofflary gomon.
Wowla kan riggan, wawla kan roo:

That Satyrical Genius which he shews by representing Birds as High-fliers and Low-fliers sufficiently declare him a compleat Master of the *Emblematick and Comick Opera.*

He shews us what Sports the Birds have in their Kingdom. That the greatest in Office there are most Gay and divertive. And Sir *Pratler Parot*, Favourite and Historian to the King: And Sir *Owl Mouser*, the King's Attorney General are made to dance after the *French* manner, which is extremely natural, because they are both *Low-fliers.*

It

It is obſervable, that all along whatever occaſion he may have for his Birds. He makes them preſerve that Character there, which they bore heretofore in another Place. So, Sir *Oliver* continues his Paſtime of Mouſing. And Sir *Pratler* is continually calling for his Sack, as being allow'd him by his Prince.

O rare Parrot, Parrot, Parrot's a Bird for the King.
A Cup of Sack for Parrot, quick, quick, quick.

His Genius of the *Black Bird*, the Emblem of Jollity and Contentment, aſſuming a human Figure, deſcants on his own Freedom and Happineſs in the Region of the Sun. And ſatyrically rallies on the Vices of the Under World, pitying us Mortals. And chanting forth this moſt ſublime Pindarique.

Whilſt in eternal Day, Terrey, Terrey, Rer- p. 67.
ery, Rerrey.
Hey—Terrey, Terrey, ſings the Black-Bird,
And what a World have they.

Then after a comical Dance of Birds and other Creatures is perform'd, he makes the *Nightingale* finiſh the Sport in a Chorus,

Jug,

p. 69.

Jug, Jug, Jug, Jug, Jug, Jug.
The Jolley, Jolley Philomel,
Upon the Haw-thorn ſings, &c.

But nothing is more pretty than his *Epilogue*, where he makes Cits and Ladies of his *Starlings* and *Wagtales*; Beaux of his *Woodcocks*; *Snipes* of his Low-flyers, and *Rooks* and *Hawks* of his High ones. To whom he joins *Ducks* and *Geeſe* for good Company. *Cuckoos* and *Owls* are plac'd in the Galleries, and *Swans* ſit ſtill in the Boxes: Whereas, *were they ſwimming in the Thames*, there were ſeveral Perſons preſent, *whom he need not name*, that would *dive to pull of their Mourning Stockings*, denoting that Swans have black Feet.

My Gravity would not give me leave to go to ſee the Machines, nor Nature of the Birds which Mr. *D'Urfey* had brought upon the Stage; but got one Mr. *Slyford* to go thither every time of its Performance, who coming lately into the Countrey gave me the following Account.

He ſays he was credibly inform'd by the Keeper of the Firſt-Gallery; that near adjoyning to the Backſide of the *Roſe-Tavern*, and contiguous to the *Play-Houſe*, there is a large Neſt, in which a ſufficient Quantity of *Turtle Doves, and young Pullets* are brought up by He and She

She *Canary Birds* to ſerve Gentlemen at a Rate certain, not only in the Performance of theſe Hieroglyphical Opera's, but likewiſe on many other preſſing Occaſions.

My Friends aſk'd him if theſe Birds were not *Migratory*, or kept to any one Place more particular. He ſaid, that the chiefeſt of them were of the *Migratory* Nature, often moving from the *Hay-Market* to *Drury-Lane*, and from *Dury-Lane* to the *Hay-Market*.

He ſaid, they are at the firſt much dearer than *Wheat-Ears*, *Pheaſants with Eggs*, *or Ortelans*. Theſe at great Expences may be kept for a Year or two without any Migration. But as their Price grows leſs, ſo their Wandring increaſes daily, and ſometimes Numbers of them pour themſelves down from *Drury-Lane*, and the *Neſts* adjacent upon *Covent Garden*, the *Strand* and *Fleetſtreet*, where they become Ambulatory and Noctivagous. That as for their *Neſts*, it is obſervable at their firſt ſitting, that they make them in fine Chambers, over Down and Feather-Beds. That they generally advance up two pair of Stairs the next Seaſon, and may chance to neſtle in the Cock-loft at the Third; from whence often upon a *North-eaſterly Wind* they *migrate* into the *Plantations*; but that he has

has obſerved their Return from thence not to have been altogether ſo certain.

I have deſir'd my Friend to ſearch farther into the Nature of theſe Birds, which as ſoon as the Particulars come to hand, I ſhall communicate to the Publick.

Some

Some Material

REMARKS

UPON

Mr. *Anthony Van Leeuwenhoeck's*

Microscopical Observations

ON THE

MEMBRANES of the INTESTINES, and other Trypal VESSELS, communicated by a Grave Matron in *Field-Lane*, long accustom'd to Experiments of that Nature.

Field-Lane, April 20. 1709.

Gentlemen,

I *Take the Liberty to acquaint your Honours, that Professor* Slaughter *came to my House,* April 7. *telling me, that he had lately view'd through a Microscope a little piece of* GUT *which he said was part of the* Ph. Transf. N°. 314. p. 53.

the BOWELS *of a* WOMAN: *And having ſeparated a ſmall Particle thereof from the reſt, he diſcover'd in one of the thin Membranes, of which for the moſt part the* GUT *is compoſed, a great Number of little Fibres and Veſſels which lay in great Multitudes over and acroſs each other; as alſo ſome Particles of Fat which lay like Bunches*
p. 57. *of Grapes on the ſaid Fibres. He likewiſe obſerv'd, that about the Blood Veſſels which he diſcover'd ſhut up as it were under the outmoſt Membrane, a great many fat Particles lying, from whence he concluded, that the* WOMAN *who was the* OWNER *thereof had been very* FAT. I made him a Curtſey, and told him, I believ'd the *little piece of Gut* at preſent was the Property of his Worſhip; and that the *Woman* could not juſtly be ſaid to be the *Owner*. That by the Particles of Fat he might rightly conclude the Woman had been *very Fat:* And that I agreed with him in that Opinion; adding farther, that ſince theſe Particles of Fat *lay like Bunches of Grapes*; It was very probable ſhe had been the Buxom Wife of ſome Hen-peck'd Vintner. It ſeems that Gentlewoman, according as Mr. *Profeſſor Slaughter*, had the Goodneſs to tell me, dy'd ſomething unfortunately; *and thereupon he produc'd two Diſſertations, ſubſcribed with the Name of* Peter Evertſe *in Latin, dated*

March

March 12. from whence he explain'd to me, *that the Woman to whom that Gut belonged, had been hang'd, and that in her Life-time she had been troubled with the Falling-sickness.* He then laid down two very extraordinary Maxims, *viz.*

That in such Persons as are hang'd or strangl'd, as this Woman was, the Circulation of the Blood is in a great Measure interrupted by the Rope. And this he prov'd by innumerable Instances of Persons, whose Blood not only stagnated, but whose Breath had been stop'd, and their Necks broak by that fatal Operation. P. 54.

And Secondly, that there is a great difference between a Dog that is hang'd for worrying of Sheep, and a Thief that is hang'd for stealing of them, because *there will be a much greater Protrusion of Blood* of that of a Rational Creature, than that of a Beast, *and that the former has great Concern at that time, and dismal Thoughts of approaching Death, upon account of the deserved Punishment he undergoes, none of which Things occur to Beasts,* who under those Circumstances are altogether Thoughtless and Unapprehensive; so that it is altogether untrue to say of a Man that is hang'd, *that he dy'd like a Dog,* since *his Blood has so much greater Protrusion.* Ibid.

p. 58. And Thirdly, *that in any such Accidents as hanging, bleeding is highly necessary in order to give the Blood room enough for a free Circulation.* For *we must suppose that a violent* Protrusion or Expulsion of the Blood thro' the Tunica's of the Vessels which would there coagulate, might be occasion'd by the great and *sudden Fright and Sorrow*, which at that time *Jack Ketch* might put the Criminal into.

To divert him a little from this melancholy Subject, I took a large piece of Double Tripe out of the Kettle, and placing it before him in a clean Dish with Mustard, Vinegar and Onion just by, I desired him if he pleased to dissect and eat of it, and that he was heartily welcome.

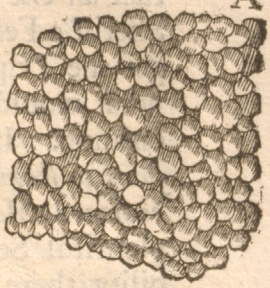
I told him, that at present this Tripe *belong'd to me*; that it formerly had been in the Possession of an Ox; that it was never *troubled with the Falling-sickness* till it was knock'd down by the Butcher, that he might the more easily cut its Throat,

Ibid. and in that manner it dy'd, as *a great many other Animals lose their Lives by the spilling of their Blood.* To this I attributed the delicate Whiteness of my Tripe: Whereas I believed I should have found the *Tunica's or Coats of the small Vessels extended, and the Blood Philtrated thro' them lying dry in little Lumps upon the extreme Membrane*, in case the Ox had been hang'd.

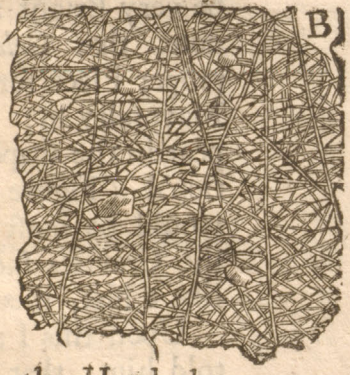
hang'd. And I then shew'd him how very fat my Double-Tripe was; upon which taking a Picture out of his Pocket, he cry'd, *Oh! in these fat Particles are the Grapes exactly*, the Bunch only wants a Stalk. The Picture he gave me, and according to that Draught a Copy of it is here delineated, as Figure *A*. Then looking upon the smooth Part of the Single-Tripe, which was extremely sleak and clean, he produces another Picture, which he did me the Honour likewise to give me. Pray Madam, *says he*, accept of this drawn by my own Hand, from the Membranes before-mention'd: You see the various Crevices in it, as appears by the Figure marked *B*.

p. 53.

A



B



From the Crevices in the Hand the learned have framed the Art of *Palmestry* or *Chyromancy*; from the Wrinkles in the Fore-head that of *Metaposcopy*; but the most noble of all is, that which the *Romans* used, called *Aruspicy* or *Extispicy*: That great People when they sacrificed,

cauſed ſome of their nobleſt Perſons to open and view the Bowels and Entrails of the Beaſts; and thence to foretel things likely to happen to the Commonwealth. Now Madam, *ſays he*, when you know that an Ox is kill'd for a Lord Mayor, or a Sheriff's Feaſt, it will be eaſie for you to get the Tripal Parts, and thence to learn what would be the Succeſſes of the Year enſuing. If *the Blood ſhould be protruded ſo as to ſtagnate and lie coagulated upon the outward Membranes*, it would ſignifie a plentiful Seſſions; and that in all Probability there would be *decent Executions*. If the Colour of the *Fat Particles* ſhould be very Bright and Yellow, it might denote, that *Goldſmith's-Hall* would be a proper Place for his Lordſhip to keep his Mayoralty in: If the Figures ſhould appear in the ſhape of Grapes, as aforemention'd (Figure *A.*) then *Vintner's-Hall* would be moſt proper for him. And if the Crevices ſhould appear Reticular, or like a Net, then *Fiſhmonger's*.

Upon this I thank'd Mr. *Profeſſor*, and told him, that hereafter I would make my Obſervations upon the Intrails as they came to me: That I was proud to think that ſo great a Nation as the *Roman* ſhould condeſcend to be ſkill'd in my Trade, and that ſhould make me more diligent for the future: That at another time, if he

would do me the Honour of a Viſit, he ſhould ſee the *Crop of the Rand*, and all the various Mazes of the Honey-comb-Tripe in Perfection, which by a Microſcope could not but in his own Expreſſion *appear Wonderful.*

Our farther Converſation was interrupted by a Patient that came to the Profeſſor; but when I ſee him next, I doubt not but that I ſhall have ſomething new to communicate to the Publick: In the mean time, I hope your Honours will believe me a Well-wiſher to Uſeful Experiments; and that I am with due Submiſſion, your Honours, *&c.*

AN

Hiſtorical and Chronological

ACCOUNT

OF

CONSECRATED CLOUTS.

Communicated by the

Ingenious and Learned Virtuoſo

Seignior Giovanni Barberini

OF

CHELSOGNIA.

Occaſion'd by

A Paſſage in the *Poſt-Boy*, that the POPE has lately made a Preſent of the ſame Nature to the Young Prince of *Aſturias*.

THO' ſome modern Authors out of Spleen and Prejudice, oppoſe the great Antiquity of Conſecrated Clouts, and would ſink them down many Ages be-

beneath their Ancient Date and Original: Yet the Primitive Writers are not ſilent on ſo material a Point of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, and we have ſufficient Authority to trace them as far backward as the Middle of the Sixth Century from the following Story.

When *Boniface* the Third was advanced to the Papal Chair, with a Fatherly Care and Piety becoming ſo great a Prelate, he promoted his Relations and Natural Iſſue to the moſt eminent Stations both in Church and State. One old Aunt only was left unprovided for, who had many Years lived a Semſtreſs of Repute under a Bulk in *Rome:* But it was now thought by his Holineſs not ſo Honourable, that ſhe ſhould longer continue to make *Dowlas* Shirts for Footmen, or vend coarſe Socks for the unſanctified Feet of the Vulgar. The Young Princeſs of *Parma* being big with Child, Pope *Boniface* was deſired to do a Neighbourly Office, and ſtand Godfather to the Son and Heir that about that time was expected into the World. He being Frugal in his Nature, and knowing what a Heatheniſh Expence the Luxury of the Times had run it up to in preſenting Goſſips and Midwifes, and giving to Nurſes, Chambermaids and Butlers ——— that in return for *Lambſwooll*, *Cake* and *Groaning-Cheeſe*—

Cheese— the Child must have Presents of Silver *Caudle-Cups*, *Porringers*, *Spoons* and *Suck-Bottles*, and those often with the additional Expence of Double-gilt. Having therefore maturely consider'd these Things, he very prudently makes an accurate Collection of old Shirts, and orders his Sagacious Aunt to transform them with her utmost Skill and Management into a Set of Child-bed-linnen, which having received the Grand Ceremony of his Holinesses Benediction, with a plain, but decent Set of Corral, Bells and Whistle— the old Lady is sent Embassadress extraordinary with this Spiritual Present for the Carnal Posteriors of his Young *Parmzzan* Highness.

To give the better Turn to this new Mission, three or four old Women were laid in at the first Stage on the Road, that were order'd to be mightily afflicted with the Tooth-ach, but the Sanctified Clouts were apply'd with wonderful Success to their luminous Cheeks, that by their primary Institution were calculated only for the blind ones of the future Prince of *Parma*. They were received at Court with that Excess of Joy and Gratitude that so unexpected and surprizing a Blessing deserved, and as the consecrated Bundle promoted the Bearer of them to an annual Pension, a Coach and Six: So we must do them this Justice to say they proved wonderful

derful and infallible Preservatives against all manner of *Fits*, *Looseness* and *Rickets*; they did the whole Business of *Black Cherry Water* and *Goddard*'s *Drops*; and when compleatly foul'd, they did not require half that Profusion of Soap-Suds that is necessary to restore common and unsanctified Clouts to a second Application.

This whimsical Present from Old Infallibility gain'd wonderful Credit and Esteem in the World, and a royal Consort no sooner began longing for *Green Peas* in *December*, and *Ripe Cherries* at *Christmas*, but the next Word was, my Dear I shall never have a good Time of it unless you get me a Bundle of *Consecrated Clouts*; I can't but fancy I miscarried the last Time for want of them: Why there's the Princess of *Parma* could have them, I warrant you, brought by his Holiness's own Aunt, and a chopping Boy came tumbling out after them — and sure my Dear, I am as good as she, for my Father had a Crown on his Head, when hers carry'd but a Commission in his Pocket. In short, this sort of Ware was so much in Vogue, and turn'd to so good Account, that the Price of 50000 Crowns was set on them by the Consistory, and a *Holy Lumber-Office* erected for the Benefit of Infants, Royal Commissioners of the *Child-Bed-Duty* appointed, and a handsom yearly Income, by it

flow'd

flow'd into the *Pope's Exchequer.* And from that time forward from the Mighty Emperours of the *East* and *West*, down to the Kings of the *Isle of Man*, the *German Princes*, and the innumerable Monarchs of *North* and *South Wales*, they were all furnish'd from the *Holy-Clout-Office* at a stated Rate, from the *Whistle* and *Suck-Bottle* down to the *Go-Cart* and *Leading-Strings.*

For the Two succeeding Centuries this continued a most considerable and flourishing Branch of the Revenue of the *Papal Chair*, but then unfortunately came on that long, bloody and expensive *War*, known by the Name of *Holy*, which impoverish-ed our Christian Kings and Princes to that Degree, and reduced their Illustrious Families to that low Ebb of Cash, and want of the Ready, that for the Space almost of three following Ages our *European* Queens were forced to run on Tick for *Baby-Cloaths*, and take in every Rag from *Rome* on the Strength of Royal Credit. To remedy these grand Inconveniencies, and secure the mighty Sums that Monarchy stood ingag'd for to the *Apostolick* Cham-ber for *Swadling-Clouts*, a large and sub-stantial *Vellum Shop-Book* was order'd in-to the *Audit-House*, and a Commission of a Fore-Man and two Clarks erected, for the sending out of Bills, and writing dun-

ning

ning Letters to all Chriſtian Emperours, Kings and Princes.

And this (ſays my compaſſionate Author, like a good *Catholick*) was that unhappy Age, when the great Debts and Neceſſities of our *Holy Mother Church* put her Firſt upon ſophiſticating her good Staple-Ware, and debaſing her vendible Commodities that ſhe had hitherto manag'd with great Profit, Credit, and Reputation. But now like a decaying Cit, ſhe began to put off Counterfeit *Coral* for Good, her *Bells*, *Suck-Bottles*, and *Whiſtles* were not *Sterling*, and wanted Weight as well as the *Hall-Mark*; ſhe'd ſell you *Go-Carts* and *Rattles* for New that were but Second-hand, and on her honeſt pontifical Word recommend to you *Dowlas*, *Locrum*, or *Kenting* Swadling-bands for ſuperfine *Holland* and *Cambrick* of the beſt. By which Means, Cuſtom fell ſtrangely off, and ſhe loſt the Buſineſs of many good and ſubſtantial Families.

About the latter end of the Thirteenth, or beginning of the Fourteenth Century, out comes Pope *Leo* with a thundering Bull in the Nature of a *Commiſſion of Bankrupt* againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*, eight crown'd Heads, and three hundred *German* and *Italian* Princes, for vaſt Sums of Money and long Arrears due to the *Holy-Clout-Office* and Chamber of Accounts.

counts, Commissioners were appointed to meet twice a Week at the *Triple-Key-Tavern* in the *Flaminian Way*, and a competent number of *Anathemas* in the Nature of *Spiritual Catch-Poles* were directly issued out against all that should refuse to come in, and discharge their respective Incumbrances, or give Bond and Security to the Satisfaction of the Court.

But after many Delays and Remonstrances against so publick a Grievance, a Composition was agreed on of five Shillings in the Pound, and a longer Time allow'd for paying off the old Scores and clearing the Debt. And to prevent all Inconveniencies of this Nature for the future, and for the better Incouragement of Customers to bring ready Money, and get good Penny-worths, the Price of a compleat Set of *Baby-Clouts*, and all necessary Equipments fit for Infants, was sunk down from 50000 to 10000 Crowns; but then it was all clear Gain, you found your own Materials, and pay'd only for the Ceremony and Benediction. This Order of the Consistory was publish'd with a ☞ *N. B. No Goods deliver'd without the Money down or sufficient Security given.*

In this State of fair Barter and Sale this Matter continued till towards the latter end of the Sixteenth Century, and then we find by the publick Register and Accounts of

of the *Apostolick Chamber*, that the Price was beat down 2000 Crowns, and a Mortgage of Plate and Jewels accepted for the remaining Sum on the Deficiency of ready Cash. For the good old *Dowager* of *Modena*, *Anno* 1688. being desirous to Equip her young Grandson, his *Welch* Highness's Posteriors with a choice Set of *Holy Catholick Clouts*, and being a good *Market-Woman* and hard Bargainer, she procured a compleat Equipage consisting of *Mantle*, *Swathe*, *Clouts* and *Whistle*, &c. for the Sum of 8000 Crowns: Tho' it is reported by several creditable Authors, that his Holiness at the same time made a solemn Protestation he was a loser by the Bargain, and that he would not have sunk the Price so manifestly to the Prejudice of the publick Revenue: Was it not in hopes of Ingaging the Custom of the Family of *D'Est*, and having the Honour of serving *England* for the future, that on some little Disgust had laid out their Money at other Shops for near two Ages. But the old Lady not having the whole Sum by her, and the Pope little Faith, she was forced to send into *Limbo* the great *Gilt Bason* and *Ewer* that graced the *Side-board* on Coronations, *Rinaldo's old Goblet*, her *Earings*, *Croslet* and *Necklace* to her very *Silver Tea Pot* and *Gold Spoons*.

Having

Having thus given you an Historical and Chronological Account of the Origin and Growth of *Consecrated Clouts*, and of the different Fate and Success that has attended them thro' so many Ages, *viz.* from the Sixth to the Seventeenth Century: It may not be improper in this Place to tell you how Authors differ on this Subject. There are not wanting Men of Learning and Character that affirm *Pope Joan* was the first Institutor of this Ceremony, and invented these consecrated Presents as Rewards for the Nurses and Midwifes that attended and deliver'd her of three or four Nephews, it being contriv'd for their Benefit, that other Crown'd Heads should pay for her Lyings-in. Perhaps you may be surpriz'd at the Expression *of being deliver'd of a Nephew*, but that is a peculiar Privilege the Pope reserves to himself, let his Children be never so many, yet the Moment he is promoted to the Chair, they cease to be Sons and Daughters like the common Offspring of the World; but commence Nephews and Neices from the very Hour of his Exaltation.

I might here likewise mention a Schism that crept into the *Clout-Office* about the Ninth Century, occasion'd by *Starchanelli* the Pope's Landress counterfeiting the Goods, and vending false Ware to several illustrious Families: But she was condem-

ned by a general Council for her Crime with a severe Sentence, and afterwards growing Penitent, she turn'd *Camp Landress*, went to the Holy War, and wash'd Foot Soldiers that had Shirts out of Love and Charity.

And now, Sir, perhaps you'll ask me the Use and Application of this Discourse! which when you hear, may be very surprizing and out of the Way: When I tell you it is to prove the Title of *Charles* the Third to the Crown of *Spain*, to demonstrate his being the Rightful and Lawful Prince, and that the Duke of *Anjou* has no Pretence to, and is only an Usurper of the Catholick Throne.

And this I shall prove from a Paragraph in a late *Post-Boy* now to be seen in my Repository, that his Holiness has made a Present and freely given a Set of *Consecrated Clouts* to the young Prince of *Asturias*, the Duke of *Anjou*'s Son: Which cannot be done to a lawful Monarch, without violating all former Precedents, and breaking in upon the very Constitution of the *Vatican*. To a private Person, such as his *Baker*, *Butcher*, or *Shoe-maker* he may freely give a Benediction of this Nature without Trespassing upon Ordinances and Statutes: But to lawful Kings and Princes the stated Price is set, 'tis out of his Power to give, and I dare affirm, that the very

very Virtue and Quality of the Clouts would be lost if the utmost Farthing was not paid down on the Nail. I would therefore have his Holiness consider what a false Step he has made, and how far by this he has weaken'd his Friend *Philip*'s Title to the Monarchy of *Spain*: And unless he speedily sends in his Bill, lays claim to the Debt, and out of hand arrests him for the Money, this may be brought as Evidence against him into the *Herald's Office* to invalidate his Pretensions, and may be one substantial Reason to send him packing from Madrid.

FINIS.

Just Publish'd.

A Dialogue between *Timothy* and *Philatheus*, in which the Principles and Projects of a late Whimsical Book: Intituled, *The Rights of the Christian Church*, &c. are fairly stated and answered in their Kind: And some Attempts made towards the Discovery of a new way of *Reasoning*, intirely unknown both to the Antients and Moderns——Written by a Layman, Vol. I. Price 5 s.

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All the new Plays and Novels, and most of the new Books are to be had of *Bernard Lintott*, at the *Cross-Keys* between the two *Temple-Gates* in *Fleetstreet*.

06
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conscious longing or remembrance or hope upon nature. His colourless scenes are like woodcuts, sharp and clear. "His fondness for the industry of man limited his sympathies," but he compels us to share his rapture in silks and velvets, in a midwife's graduated bills, and in such works of art as in "Captain Singleton" "put our artificer to his trumps." And though Roxana in her autobiography grows almost eloquent over her charms of face and shape and unpainted skill, it is little else than a simpering confidentiality across the counter.

It is, in fact, the absence of these æsthetic and introspective qualities in Defoe that is the secret of his peculiar power. It enabled him to concentrate his mind, to the exclusion of everything else, on the world without. The objective reduced to its common denominator was his instinctive aim. He had waited upon life at its crudest and barest, and had thus acquired so wide a knowledge and so packed a memory of reality that when he chanced to turn to story-telling for a living it poured out with all the novelty of an unfailing invention. Art seems needless when mere instinct can produce such a little masterpiece of verisimilitude as "The Apparition of Mrs. Veal." It epitomizes Defoe's method—of sedulously accumulating detail till the result has all the tang and substantiality of fact. The reading of his stories at their best therefore has the clearness and force of an actual experience, an experience, too, far more vivid and precise than that which most of us can gain for ourselves. And [illegible] reality is never that of the modern "realist," who walks the world spying out the inconspicuous refuse of experience, but always carries with it the personality and the humanity of its medium, nothing breaks through his narrative but what came there of its own immediate appeal and carried its full significance. Such romancing has all the Reflections," "that I enjoy much more solitude in the middle of the greatest collection of mankind in the world, I mean, at London, while I am writing this, than ever I could say I enjoyed in eight-and-twenty years' confinement to a desolate island." This pervasive sense of inward silence and loneliness steals over the imagination in reading Defoe at his best. How still and close to us is Crusoe's island. There is a sky above us, but we rarely lift our eyes to it; out of utter silence the clamorous host of birds flies up at echo of his gun. The sea stretches all around us in its concave immensity, ringing a solitude like that of a picture. It is indeed with a shocked incredulity that we learn that America itself is in sight when Crusoe ascends his little hill. So too in "Captain Singleton" we push solitarily on in the company of that little band of abstractions, the twenty-seven maroons, beset by unknown fears and battalions of elephants, through forest and wilderness.

But more hauntingly yet descends silence and solitude upon the reader in "The Journal of the Plague Year." Defoe's masterly English, compounded of the Bible and the raciest vernacular, is nowhere else so impressive. The "saddler's" narrative enslaves the mind and seems to shut off all retreat—the first gossip and stir of distrust and foreboding, the accumulative innuendo, the facts and figures that take in their nakedness as sinister a bearing as the far-off waft of a pirate's ancient itself; the thronging, mocking, terror-stricken crowds; the quacks and seers and occultists; the deepening hush broken ever and again by a piercing cry; and then at last the deserted, grass-grown streets, the barred doors, the watchmen and the bell: and the gathering, drifting mist of death settling thickly upon all. [illegible] the writer's shoulder, compelling him, though intent only on the bare facts and on his own shadow wandering through [illegible] its mysterious

narrative but what came there of its own immediate appeal and carried its full significance. Such romancing has all the fascination of one of those matter-of-fact dreams in which we are spectators of our own actions without the possibility of interruption from within or without. It is a complete absorption of the senses in which the faint rumour that accompanies conscious life is stilled—the condensed spectacle of the peepshow.

To attain this effect a story must of necessity be a direct, personal narrative. There must be no meddling by any third party. It is partly for this reason, we think, that all Defoe's stories break every now and then into his peculiar undramatic dialogue; not merely, as he himself asserts in one place, for the sake of brevity, but in order to avoid any interference with what mainly occurs in talk—a voice speaking, a voice replying. Not for him the psychological aura, the half-tones, the subconscious syllabling of the "naturalist." So elementary a reality could, of course, be peopled only with elementary intelligences. Defoe's characters, greatest and least (and little more than a moral hairsbreadth divides them), never shock us with our own inferiority. They are just such obvious and everyday creatures as we must all appear to the great outside world that knows not even so much as our names. Their good and evil are as primitive as the good and evil with which a common jury is concerned. If indeed it was conscious craft that made Singleton and Crusoe men so modest and ordinary in their extraordinary circumstances, it was a craft that sprang from pure genius. Defoe descends with such limpid ease to the level of the boy who reads of these amazing and harmless heroes that he comes near to being in this narrow degree one of the most imaginative writers the world has ever seen. Does he not from the beginning cunningly let us into the secret that Crusoe's huge periagua is the hopeless, senseless scheme we are so distressed and delighted at his afterwards finding it to be? We revel in a reiterated "I told you so." We sit with heart caught up watching fate's insidious perfidies—the ravaged grapes, the prolific cats, the noble hapless venture out to sea, the immovable roll of sheet lead that we modestly surmise Robinson *might* have thought of hacking into strips. On our own unworthy heads fall the fragmentary and even superfluous benefactions of that "Superior Power" which not even the most impious of Defoe's adventurers ever really questioned—Crusoe's "Mahometan" whiskers, the few grains of barley spared by the rats, the magazine of muskets, the sea-caked barrel of powder, the tobacco pipe (withheld a score of years) in the drowned ship-boy's pocket, the "refreshing" handkerchiefs, the five black wives for the five white mariners, the mutineers lapped in sleep while their captain roams the shore; the Cavalier's saddle stuffed with gold; Jack's hollow tree in the lonely fields beyond the "Blind Beggars" at Bethnal-green. We do not dream of questioning, either, the hints let fall here and there of the subliminal. The highwayman does not surprise us who hears "very plain" Moll's heart-broken far-away cry, "Oh, Jemmie, come back, come back!" nor does Roxana's glimpse of the second-sight, just before, like Lorenzo, the murdered jeweller rides out to his doom, nor the oft-repeated veridical dream, nor even the line of piracy on Singleton's tell-tale palm. For when the abnormal visits perfectly normal people it seems merely one of those delightful improbabilities that diversify plain fact. "How strange and chequered a work of Providence is the life of man!" So strange that it needs little adornment to make of it pure romance.

For it is Defoe's innate simplicity, his livelong interest and delight in life, his ever-fresh appeal to the whole world's children, whether in age or spirit, that are the surest proof of his genius. Youth swept back into the harassed tormented heart that apparently did not so much as begin to dream of romance until its possessor was all but sixty years old. If ever beauty appears in his work, it is from this clear wellspring. It ebbed hopelessly away from the callous worldliness of "Roxana," but even in his tedious "Family Instructor," not very far removed in its ideals from those of "The Complete Tradesman," in spite of the real touches of character in its natty dialogue, the one fragment that remains in the memory is the opening talk between the little boy and his father. No man can recall his childhood without dwelling on its peculiar sense of solitude. And Defoe, we feel, spent all his wracked and crowded life in solitude—the solitude of an acute, restless personal life besieged by business and care, by "crowds of fine folks" and mean. "I can affirm," says Crusoe in his "Serious thickly upon all. A shadowy form seems to stoop over the writer's shoulder, compelling him, though intent only on the bare facts and on his own shadow wandering through the London of his childhood, to record its mysterious presence in his sharp deliberate prose.

Defoe is read "by schoolboys and kitchenmaids, by sailors," says Mr. Masefield. It is an entranced but not exacting circle, perhaps. And yet it must indeed be an imagination a little over-enriched and belletristic, a little too fastidious, that cannot be content to shut out the greatest awhile and all the Muses, and fly with Jack "down Old Bedlam into Moorfields" or with Crusoe and Singleton venture out upon the high seas, bound for Friday, or the sources of the Nile.

THE ENGLISHMAN IN CHINA.

HOUSEBOAT DAYS IN CHINA. By J. O. P. BLAND. (Arnold, 15s. net.)

CHINA. By MORTIMER MENPES. Text by SIR HENRY ARTHUR BLAKE, G.C.M.G. (Menpes Crown Series, Black, 5s. net.)

THE FACE OF CHINA. By E. G. KEMP, F.R.S.G.S. (Chatto and Windus, 20s. net.)

CHINA: ITS MARVEL AND MYSTERY. By T. HODGSON LIDDELL, R.B.A. (Allen, 21s. net.)

"Great Princes, Emperors and Kings, Dukes and Marquises, Counts, Knights"—but no, if all those to whom Marco Polo addressed his rolling invocation were to read every book which appears nowadays on China we should be left without a leisured class, so vast a literature has grown up round that empire to which he first introduced a half-incredulous world. We are no longer incredulous, though it is open to question whether each new witness to Chinese ways of life and thought does not leave us the more bewildered, as well as the more curious. It is not its antiquity that differentiates the history of Chinese civilization from that of other nations; we are possessed of exacter knowledge concerning communities quite as ancient; but in Mesopotamia or in Egypt the present is well marked off from the past, the old empires are dead and gone and the new have sprung into existence under changed conditions, whereas in China, peer back through the millenniums as you will, you can detect no appreciable alteration. Revolution, conquest, the rule of alien dynasties have done no more than checker the vast face of the Chinese body politic, and one of the acutest of Western observers has summed up its peculiar persistence of form by comparing it to a cube which when it is overturned presents exactly the same appearance as before.

By no means the least singular chapter in this age-long history is that which relates the vicissitudes that attended on the intercourse between China and Europe. It begins, so to speak, in the middle, for when Marco Polo and the friars and merchants who were his contemporaries and immediate successors visited Cathay they found Christianity already established there by the Nestorians: "which are heretics," adds Friar Odoric firmly, and perhaps not without reason, since the remarkable Christian inscription found at Singanfu treats the doctrines of the faith in a manner highly figurative, to say the least of it. For fifty years and more, traders and papal emissaries had the run of the country; but at the end of the Mongol dynasty the veil fell again so darkly that when China was rediscovered two hundred years afterwards, the later explorers did not recognize that they had reached the legendary Cathay. Jesuit missionaries and the East India Company reopened relations which, in spite of an attitude of unbroken reluctance on the part of the Chinese, have resulted in notable developments. Open any daily paper and it will be strange if you do not find in it some mention of the daily struggle of Europe to invest her capital and implant her religious conceptions in China, of the woes of a missionary in a distant province, or of recrimination between the Powers over a railway concession. How these episodes strike the native is not usually recorded, but perhaps a clue to his sentiments may be found in Mr. Bland's humorous epitome of his dealings with us during the past half century.

Every defeat inflicted by Europe on the Celestial Empire has been followed by the diplomatic collapse (generally gradual, sometimes sudden) of the victors. Remember that in the past fifty years China has been mauled five times, her capital twice sacked, and her fighting capacity—or rather her capacity for not fighting—has been much the same all the time; yet how much forrader is Europe now, after the Boxer Protocol, than she was in 1860? Ask the diplomat? he'll tell you times were never so bad in his

one of the most imaginative writers the world has ever seen. Does he not from the beginning cunningly let us into the secret that Crusoe's huge periagua is the hopeless, senseless scheme we are so distressed and delighted at his afterwards finding it to be? We revel in a reiterated "I told you so." We sit with heart caught up watching fate's insidious perfidies—the ravaged grapes, the prolific cats, the noble hapless venture out to sea, the immovable roll of sheet lead that we modestly surmise Robinson *might* have thought of hacking into strips. On our own unworthy heads fall the fragmentary and even superfluous benefactions of that "Superior Power" which not even the most impious of Defoe's adventurers ever really questioned—Crusoe's "Mahometan" whiskers, the few grains of barley spared by the rats, the magazine of muskets, the sea-caked barrel of powder, the tobacco pipe (withheld a score of years) in the drowned ship-boy's pocket, the "refreshing" handkerchiefs, the five black wives for the five white mariners, the mutineers lapped in sleep while their captain roams the shore; the Cavalier's saddle stuffed with gold; Jack's hollow tree in the lonely fields beyond the "Blind Beggars" at Bethnal-green. We do not dream of questioning, either, the hints let fall here and there of the subliminal. The highwayman does not surprise us who hears "very plain" Moll's heart-broken far-away cry, "Oh, Jemmie, come back, come back!" nor does Roxana's glimpse of the second-sight, just before, like Lorenzo, the murdered jeweller rides out to his doom, nor the oft-repeated veridical dream, nor even the line of piracy on Singleton's tell-tale palm. For when the abnormal visits perfectly normal people it seems merely one of those delightful improbabilities that diversify plain fact. "How strange and chequered a work of

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1599*a* **DEFOE (Daniel)** A JOURNAL OF THE PLAGUE YEAR; being Observations or Memorials of the Most Remarkable Occurrences, as well Publick as Private, which happened in London during the last Great Visitation in 1665. Written by a Citizen who continued all the while in London. Never made publick before. *E. Nutt*, 1722. FIRST EDITION. 8vo, *original calf*, FINE COPY, EXCEEDINGLY RARE, £12 12s

This book was suggested to Defoe by the dread of the plague which had recently broken out in France; and the narrative has an air of authenticity, which imposed upon Dr. Meads, who had been appointed to report upon desirable precautions. He quotes it as an authority in his "*Discourse on the Plague*," 1714.